

MONUMENTI DI ANTICHITÀ CRISTIANA  
PUBBLICATI DAL PONTIFICIO ISTITUTO DI ARCHEOLOGIA CRISTIANA  
II SERIE  
II

CORPUS BASILICARUM  
CHRISTIANARUM ROMAE

THE EARLY CHRISTIAN BASILICAS OF ROME  
(IV - IX Cent.)

BY  
RICHARD KRAUTHEIMER      SPENCER CORBETT  
WOLFGANG FRANKL

VOL. IV



1970  
CITTÀ DEL VATICANO

PONTIFICIO ISTITUTO DI  
ARCHEOLOGIA CRISTIANA  
ROMA — VIA NAPOLEONE III, 1

INSTITUTE OF FINE ARTS  
NEW YORK UNIVERSITY  
NEW YORK — 1 EAST 78TH STREET

RICHARD KRAUTHEIMER      SPENCER CORBETT  
WOLFGANG FRANKL

CORPUS BASILICARUM  
CHRISTIANARUM ROMAE

THE EARLY CHRISTIAN BASILICAS OF ROME  
(IV - IX Cent.)

VOL. IV



1970  
CITTÀ DEL VATICANO

PONTIFICIO ISTITUTO DI  
ARCHEOLOGIA CRISTIANA  
ROMA — VIA NAPOLEONE III, 1

INSTITUTE OF FINE ARTS  
NEW YORK UNIVERSITY  
NEW YORK — 1 EAST 78TH STREET



THIS COPIE HAS BEEN PREPARED AND PRINTED  
WITH THE SUPPORT OF THE  
DAVID BROTHMAN PROFESSORSHIP FUND  
SCHOOL OF FINE ARTS NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

ABBREVIATIONS OF FREQUENTLY QUOTED WORKS

- ALBERTINI, *Opusculum de Hierarchia*. For sources ALBERTINI, *Opusculum de Hierarchia*, Venice, 1797. (C. 100.)  
Rome, Rome, 1797, no. 1700 (the edition of 1800).  
ARISTOTELI, *Rhetorica*. ARISTOTELI, *Rhetorica*, Vatican edition in two vols. (1831-32).  
Rome, 1831.  
ARISTOTELI, *Opera*. MARINO ANTONIUS, *Le Opere di Aristotele*, 2 vols. (1534-35). Venice, 1534-35.  
BARONI, 1789. GIUSEPPE BARONI, *Le vite de' papii, dalla fondazione del pontificato di Gregorio VIII del 1300 sino a' tempi di Papa Pio VIII del 1775*. (Rome, 1842.) 3rd ed. Naples, 1789.  
BARONII, *Museo*. ALESSANDRO BARONII, *I Musei e gli antichi di Roma nel secolo XVI*. (Rome, 1849.)  
Rome, 1849.  
BARONII, *Roma*. FRANCESCO BARONII, *Roma secolare* [1441]. Venice, 1461. (Ed. Galassi, ed. Varese, 1911, no. 117-118.) Later ed. by Turin, 1887.  
BARTOLI, *Comiti*. MARIO ANTONIO BARTOLI, *Formazione e vita di Comiti e conti italiani*. (Rome, 1918.)  
Rome, Roma, Satterton's.  
BARTOLI, *Roma Satterton's*. ANTONIO BARTOLI, *Roma Satterton's*. (Rome, 1911.) 2nd ed. Rome, 1950.  
BORRINI, *Sacramentaria*. EMANUELE BORRINI, *Studi sui sacramentari romani*. (Varese, City, 1938.)  
BUTALINI, *Map of Rome*. FRANCESCO BUTALINI, S. I., ed. *Roma al tempo di Carlo III. Lo Stato di Roma da Innocenzo Episcopo del 1121*. (Rome, 1911.)  
BUSSE-GUTENSOHN-KNAFF, *Basiliken*. CHRISTIAN KARL BUSSE, JOHANNES GREGOR GUTENSOHN and JOHANN MICHAEL KNAFF, *Die Basiliken der antiken Rom*, vol. I, *Die Tempel und die Basiliken mit Plan und Grundriss der Kirchenanlagen*. Munich, 1874, 2nd ed., Munich, 1882.  
CASSIN, *Tempi Cristiani*. LUIGI CASSIN, *Ricerche sull'architettura dei templi cristiani*. (Rome, 1841.) 2nd ed., Rome, 1846.  
CAVALLOTTI, *Re Galles Papi*. ALESSIO CAVALLOTTI, (MARIO CAVALLOTTI), *Storia di un fatto pontificio Romano nel S. R. E. cardinalato*. (Rome, 1811.)  
CAMPINI, *De Secretis Architecti*. GIOVANNI CAMPINI, *De Secretis Architecti*. (Rome, 1811.)  
Rome, 1811.  
CAMPINI, *Utraque Monumenta*. GIOVANNI CAMPINI, *Utraque Monumenta in quibus praecepta, mores antiquorum Praetorumque Latini Struonum, Architecturae Pars I*. (Rome, 1802.) 2nd ed., Rome, 1847.  
C.I.L. *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, ed. Berlin. *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, ed. Berlin. (Monumenta Germaniae Historica, ed. Berlin, 1863-1913.)  
C.S.E.I. *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiae aemulorum*, ed. Vienna. *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, ed. Vienna. (Monumenta Germaniae Historica, ed. Vienna, 1864.)  
DEODANUS, *Architettura Antica*. FRIEDRICH WILHELM DEODANUS, *Architettura Antica*. (Rome, Basel, 1838.)

DE STEIN, Paulmann.  
 GIOVANNI BATTISTA DE ROSA, *Inventarij d'ogni cosa appartenente al regio sacra*, Rome, 1727-97.

DE ROSA, Marco.  
 GIOVANNI BATTISTA DE ROSA, *Marco Cicerone, e altri tre paronetti della Chiesa di Roma antichi al secolo V.* Roma, 1789.

DE ROSA, Paolo.  
 GIOVANNI BATTISTA DE ROSA, *Poveri e indigenti, e popolazione di Roma nell'anno di 1686.* V. DE ROSA, 1789.

DE ROSA, Paolo Antonio.  
 GIOVANNI BATTISTA DE ROSA, *La Roma Solimanica, Cronaca*, Rome, 1784, 77.

DESSI, Antonino.  
 ERNEST DEHL, *Inschriften in der Kirchenstadt Rom*, Berlin, 1873-93, 2nd ed., 1901.

DESSIO, Francesco.  
 LEON DUCHENE, *Notes sur la topographie de Rome (museo-vale)*, *Mémoires et publications de l'École française de Rome*, 1870, p. 27, p. 1867, p. 21, B.

D'EVERAUX-LACROIX, Alfred-J. Rome.  
 FRANCESCO LERIBI, S. J., ed., *Roma prima di Sisto I. La pianta di Roma da Pietro Ligorio del 1572*, Roma, 1906.

EBNER, Leon.  
 HEIMANN LERIBI, *Romische Epitaph, Historisch-topograph. aus dem XI. bis XIII. Jahrhundert*, Vienna and Leipzig, 1811-12, Vol. I, chod in vol. ed. Vienna, 1832.

EBNER, Maximilian.  
 GUY FERRARI, *Early Roman Monasteries. Notes for the History of the Monasteries and Centers in Rome from the V through the X Century*, Vatican City, 1912.

FERRARI, Domenico-Donatello.  
 ANTONIO FERRARI, *Enciclopedia di Roma*, 2 vols., Roma, 1922.

FERRARA, Carlo de' Rom.  
 GIUSEPPE FONTANA, *Raccolta delle migliori pitture di Roma e suburbani*, Roma, 1832.

FERRARLA, Leonida.  
 VINCENZO FERRARLA, *Testimonj dell'antichità e della storia di Roma dal secolo VI fino ai giorni nostri*, Roma, 1864-84.

FERRARLA, Paolo de' Rom.  
 ARMANDO PIETRO FERREI, *Il Piano di Roma*, Rome, 1876.

FERRIS, Giulio.  
 HERMANN FERRAS, *Iscritta Romana, Dissertazioni sulle monum. dell'arte riguardant principalmente la storia di Roma e dei Papi nel medio sec.* I, Rome, 1809.

FERRISSI, Giacomo.  
 FERDINANDO FERRISSI, *Catullo. Nazionti delle Stange in Roma. Cato bene della ricchezza in una stanza. Supplementi in. La guerra nazionale italiana III*, ed. A. VERDI, Rome, 1907.

FERRUSI, Elisabetta Klara.  
 HERMANN FERRUSI, *Die christlichen Kirchen nach den Baustandmitteln und deren Beschaffenheit*, Karlsruhe, 1862-64.

FERRUSI, Carlo.  
 CHRISTIAN FERUSI, *Le Chiese di Roma nel Medioevo*, Florence, 1927.

FERRUSI-LEONARDI, Homotryph.  
 CRISTINA FERUSI and HERMANN FERUSI, *Die römischen Märlenbilder von Marcell von Hermsdorf*, Berlin, 1913-16.

FERRUSI, Leo Rom.  
 PAUL FERDINAND FERUSI, *Beitrag zur Topograph. Romaerum*, Italia Postilla, I, Rome and Berlin, 1906.

FERRUSI, Ferdinand.  
 JOHANN PETER FERUSI, *Die römische Architektur im Mittelalter. Quellen und Geschichte (mit KRIEGER des Abt. Paul)*, 9, 1911, Pfeiffer, 1913.

FERRUSI, F. F. R.  
 ROSSIGNO LANGIANI, *Fama Urbis Romae*, Milan, 1848.

FERRUSI, Don Livio.  
 RIGOLELLI LANGIANI, *L'incendio di San Pietro e l'ordine di Basilio Costanzo*. Monumenti Antichi pubblicati per cura della Real Accademia dei Lincei, I, 1891, vol. 1, 77, F.

FERRUSI, Rom. and Excursions.  
 RODOLFO LANGIANI, *The Ruins of Extra-Urbis of Ancient Rome*, London, 1867.

FERRUSI, Sant' Antonio.  
 RIGOLELLI LANGIANI, *Storia dell'architettura di Roma*, Rome, 1862-72.

FERRUSI, Antonio.  
 PAUL MARCO UFFERHOLZER, *Fora di Roma. Marenda. Piaz. Uffizi. I. P.*, *Le Pitture e l'Architettura di Torino*, Turin, 1864, (I) *L'antichità*, Vol. III, Paris, 1911.

FERRUSI, Antonio.  
 GIUSEPPE UFFERI, *L'antichità di Roma e di Roma, Roma, 1864, Supplemento*, Vol. IV, Rome, 1894.

FERRUSI, Antonio.  
 ERNESTO UFFERI, N. L., ed., *Roma al tempo di Sisto IV*, 712, *Annali di Roma. Marche-Uffizi-Luce del 1864*, Roma, 1912.

FERRUSI, Antonio.  
 JEAN DAMOURGUE, *Museo Sacro. Cronaca dell'antichità di Roma*, Florence, 1899-1908.

FERRUSI, Antonio.  
 GIUSEPPE MARASCHIONI, *Delle pitture antiche e moderne del Museo Sacro di Roma*, Rome, 1874.

FERRUSI, Antonio.  
 ERA MARIANO DA FIRENZE, *Incisione*. ERA MARIANO DA FIRENZE, *Incisione Urbis Romae* (1871), ed. Ed. Gio. Bellini, Studi di Antichità Classica, IV, Roma, 1911.

FERRUSI, Antonio.  
 FERDINANDO MARTINELLI, *Roma in Antichità. Roma in Presente*, Roma, 1864.

FERRUSI, Antonio.  
 FERDINANDO MARTINELLI, *Roma in Presente*, Roma, 1864, (1) *La storia di Roma*, (2) *La storia di Roma*, Rome, 1874.

FERRUSI, Antonio.  
 ORAZIO MARELLI, *Elementi d'archeologia*, III, *Restaurazione e storia di Roma*, 1861 ed., Roma, 1896.

FERRUSI, Antonio.  
 ORAZIO MARELLI, *Le Cattedrali Romane*, Rome, 1876.

FERRUSI, Antonio.  
 Monum. Civ. Roma, ed. Berlin, Alexander von Wilhelmsberg, Harburg, 1826, F.

FERRUSI, Antonio.  
 JACQUES PAUL MONT, *Pantheon*, (1) *Pantheon*, (2) *Palais National*, Paris, 1844, 1865.

FERRUSI, Antonio.  
 FERDINANDO MORELLI, *Diccionario de Anica Roma*, London, 1831-61.

FERRUSI, Antonio.  
 ANTONIO NERI, *Roma nel 1800*, 1800, (1) *Roma nel 1800*, (2) *Roma nel 1800*, Roma, 1800.

FERRUSI, Antonio.  
 FRANCESCO NERI, S. J., ed., *Roma al tempo di Bonifacio VIII. La pianta di Roma di Gerolamo Neri del 1374*, Vatican City, 1912.

FERRUSI, Antonio.  
 J. V. NERI, *Diccionario de Anica Roma*, (1) *Roma*, (2) *Roma*, (3) *Roma*, (4) *Roma*, (5) *Roma*, Rome, 1800.

FERRUSI, Antonio.  
 OTTAVIO NERI, *I nomi antichi dell'antichità di Roma*, Rome, 1890, 2nd ed., Rome, 1911.

FERRUSI, Antonio.  
 OSIBORO NERI, *De pantheon urbis Romae antichitatum Insulae quae septem ecclesiarum vicum vocant*, Rome, 1776.

FERRUSI, Antonio.  
 CARLO BARTOLOMEO NERI, *La Chiesa di Santa Maria della Pace*, Rome, 1781.

FERRUSI, Antonio.  
 BARTOLOMEO NERI, *Le voci de' pastori*, Venice, 1875.

FERRUSI, Antonio.  
 OSKAR NERI, *Die Kunstgeschichte unter Urban VIII. Quellensammlung zur Geschichte der Baukunst in Rom*, U. VERRI, Venedig, 1888, and Cologne, 1896.

FERRUSI, Antonio.  
 ROBERT DE NERI, *Le Santi di la Mole e la loro numerazione*, Pisa, 1893-1908.

FERRUSI, Antonio.  
 ERA SANTI, *Le 100 meraviglie dell'anima città di Roma*, (1) *1886*, (2) *1886*, (3) *1886*, (4) *1886*, (5) *1886*, (6) *1886*, (7) *1886*, (8) *1886*, (9) *1886*, (10) *1886*, Venice, 1908.

FERRUSI, Antonio.  
 ALBERTO NERI, *Torti Campanari di Roma e del Lazio*, Rome, 1897.



PREFACE

This (the fourth volume of the *Codex Bezae Cantabrigiae*) appears at a comparatively short distance from the third volume, and the authors hope that the story of the *Codex* will be as happy as they are themselves that it has been possible to shorten the intervals between the publications of the individual volumes. This volume is largely due to the financial support provided by the Joyce Wrightman Professorship Fund at the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, and we should like to express our heartfelt thanks to the generous donors.

Our thanks go likewise to the many who have been helpful to us in our work. Foremost, to Craig Hugh Smyth, the director of the Institute of Fine Arts, whose constant encouragement, practical help and warm friendship have sustained our labors over the years. We are equally grateful to Professor Enrico Josi, the rector of the Pontifical Institute for Christian Archaeology in Rome, and for so many years an old friend and mentor (through the Libreria di Christian archeology in Rome). Our thanks are due likewise to a number of colleagues in Rome: to Professor Carlo Cecchi who generously has offered advice on a number of problems concerning Santo Stefano Rotondo; to Professor Guglielmo Matthiae, who has provided us with information and photographs regarding San Vitale; to Professor G. Parini, the Soprintendente di Monumenti del Lazio, who in every respect, and beyond the call of duty, has facilitated our work; to Dr. Ernest Nash, who through the *Fototeca Vaticana* has provided us with a number of photographs; to Professor P. Testini of the Pontifical Institute for Christian Archaeology in Rome, who, in the printing stage, has again maintained liaison with the *Tipografia Poliglotta Vaticana* and assisted us in producing what we hope to be a presentable volume.

Our thanks go, needless to say, as always to the personnel of the many libraries we have used: the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, the American Academy in Rome, the German Archaeological Institute in Rome, the *Biblioteca Hebraica* and the *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana* are foremost on our mind.

In editing this volume we have been able to count on the help of a number of student assistants at the Institute of Fine Arts. In the first place, Miss Patricia Waddi, Miss Louis Kaulman and Mrs. Charlote Lacaze have assisted me in a thousand ways in preparing the manuscript. Messieurs John Hermann, Ronald Malmstrom and H. Thomas Mathew, S. J., have been good enough to stand by the spot a number of points. Assistance in collecting the bibliographies has been given by these same and by other students whose names appear under the respective chapters.

This fourth volume, as the reader will perceive, is the last in the regular series of chapters carrying them from Q through V. A supplementary volume, as announced, will have to include the three great basilicas so far omitted: St. John's in the Lateran, Old St. Peter's, and S. Paolo fuori le mura. *Deo volente* it should go to press in the not too indeterminate future.

RICHARD KRAUTHORNER

Institute of Fine Arts,  
New York University,  
December 1969

A. BIBLIOGRAPHY

- FRY MARSHALLS FRISER, *Illustrations*, 1513, p. 197.  
 GOSWOLD, *Statens*, 1783, n. 213 ff.  
 PASQUOLA, *Trattato*, 1660, p. 221 ff. (E. G. n. 178 ff.)  
 MIGNORI, *Della vita, dottrina e religione del santo Quattro Coronati*, Roma, 1841 (1842) n. 1157.  
 MARTINELLI, *Roma secolare*, 1874, n. 228 ff.  
 FRANCHI, *Roma antica e moderna*, Roma, 1874, p. 313 f.  
 LUCIFRINI, *Veduta attuale panoramica la valle di S. Sabotino Martire da S. Sabotino, nella chiesa di S. SS. Quattro Coronati di Roma*, Roma, 1772.  
 NINNY, *Roma nel 1891*, 1891, p. 602.  
 DE ROSSI, *S. Scavi del Celio (1910)*, Catalogo dei SS. Quattro Coronati<sup>1</sup>, n. 33, 1920, p. 161 ff.  
 FERRERIS, *Fontana*, VIII, 1874, p. 184 ff.  
 DE ROSSI, *I Santi Quattro Coronati e la loro chiesa sul Celio*, *B.I.C.*, 4 (1889), p. 42 f.  
 ANDREOLI, *Roma nell'età di mezzo*, I, Roma, 1884, n. 2, p. 321 ff.  
 GIOVANNI, *Le ruine des Quatre-Saints-Coronés au Moyen-Age*, *Revue d'histoire de Metz*, 120, 1901, p. 467 ff.  
 ASHBY, *Sixteenth Century Drawings of Roman Buildings attributed to Antonio Corri*, *Paperi Storici*, 2, 1904, pp. 86.  
 KIEHL, *Il. Post.*, I, 1906, p. 49 ff.  
 DEUBNER, *Le Cultes Romains des Quatre-Coronés (Saints Quattro)*, *Ap. Ex. Franc.*, 32 (1911), p. 27 ff.  
 FRANCHI DE' CASVALARI, *I Santi Quattro*, *Vivendogefichte*, fasc. 1, Studi, Testi, 24, Roma, 1921, n. 41 ff.  
 DEFRANCO, *La Colle des Quatre-Coronés à Rome*, *Annuaire Bulgarique*, 32 (1935), p. 64 ff.  
 ION, *L'Église des SS. Quattro Coronati*, *Notizie*, *Studi Romani*, I, 1933, p. 89 ff.  
 MOROZ, *Affreschi del XV secolo ai SS. Quattro Coronati*, *ibid.*, p. 238 f.  
 MOROZ, *La cripta e la tribuna della chiesa dei SS. IIII Coronati*, *ibid.*, p. 193 ff.  
 MOROZ, *La cappella di S. Silvestro ai SS. Quattro Coronati e le recenti scoperte*, *V.B.I.C.*, 11 (1934), p. 205 ff.  
 MOROZ, *Le restes della chiesa e del chiostro dei SS. Quattro Coronati*, Roma, 1934.  
 VINCIGLI, *Monumenti*, II, 1917, p. 104 ff.  
 KIEHL, *Die Legende der vier Gebrüder in Rom*, *Historisch-Jahrbuch*, 1917, p. 22 ff.  
 KIEHL, *Tischleben*, 1918, p. 33 ff.  
 DE ROSSI, *Giovanni da S. Giovanni*, *Arte*, 26 (1909), p. 114 ff.  
 HEISEN, *Angew.*, 1921, p. 127 f.  
 KILICER, *Ein Kitchenskizzen aus der frühlichen Türkei der heiligen vier Gebrüder*, *Sammlung Sirois, Historische Beiträge*, zugewendet hat *Josip Andon Štuler*, Disseldorf, 1935.  
 SYVIER, *Mémoires*, 1935, p. 212 ff.  
 MAHIS, *Les fresques du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle à l'Église des Quatre-Saints-Coronés*, *Mon. Ét. Franç.*, 51 (1911), p. 242 ff.  
 MALLESINI-ZUBERTI, *Guid. Topog. Sc.*, II, 1924, *passim*.  
 NARBONNE, *I Santi Quattro Coronati*, *Cappellen*, 16 (1931), p. 224 ff.  
 ARDITTI-CAPRELLI, *Chiese*, 1942, p. 607 ff.  
 GIULI, *Storia e topografia del Celio nell'antichità*, *Mem. Pont. Acad.*, 7 (1944), p. 1 ff. (p. 207 ff.)  
 DI CARBONIA, *La chiesa e il monastero dei SS. Quattro Coronati in Roma*, Roma, 1946.  
 VASARI, *La primitiva abbatte dei SS. Quattro Coronati*, *R.I.C.*, 22 (1976), pp. 257 f.  
 ANTONI, *Chiese*, I, *SS. Quattro Coronati* (Le Chiese di Roma illustrate), Roma, 1949.

\* Research Assistant, Palazzo C. Massimo







## D. GENERAL DESCRIPTION

The plan of the SS. Quirico Giovanni Church (fig. 1) is the result of a 1939 adaptation to the present form of the location. It is a long, narrow, rectangular church, two stories high (fig. 1). The main entrance is on the west side, on the Via Pasulana, at the point where the road ascends to reach the COLOSSEUM plateau from the rising foreground near the Colosseum. The church is a north-south orientation building.



FIG. 1. SS. Quirico Giovanni Church, half viewed from northeast side.

Because the front of the exaptych and an apse portico on an artificial platform which is enclosed and buttressed by massive arch walls at its northern corner this platform is more than ten meters high (fig. 1). This elevated position is derived from the fact (pls. I, II, fig. 2). An archway beneath a tall masonry gate tower leads from an earlier courtyard or atrium, in one corner of which stands the early Imperial thirteenth-century Chapel of Saint Sylvester. The west and north sides of the courtyard have three-arcaded colonnades. A gateway under the western arcade leads to an inner courtyard, terminated at its west end by a portico from which a single doorway opens into the nave of the present church. This courtyard was not part of the original arrangement; it was created in the twelfth or thirteenth century from the eastern bays of a church much longer and larger than the present one. Indeed, four arches of its northern arcade are preserved in the right wall of the outer courtyard (fig. 3). A narrow opening at the north end of the terminating portico gives access from the main site; it was originally part of the north aisle of this larger church. The present church

consists of a nave, flanked by a double row of tall, narrow, rectangular bays. The apse is a simple, rectangular, two-story structure, the earlier and larger church. The derivation of the main gallery carries an entablature along the walls, and a freestone half-arch of Giovanni di San Giovanni will in the wall show date from the sixteenth century. Behind is an ancient crypt which was also remodelled in the seventeenth century. The transept, north-arches and galleries of the present church are all included within the western half of the earlier nave (fig. 3). This is also manifest on the exterior, where the high transept wall visible from the cloister is obviously a vestige of an earlier cloister wall that was demolished in its upper part also along what is now the south wall of the aisles and galleries (fig. 3). The former nave colonnades, buried in the outer walls of the present aisles, were exposed in a program of restoration directed by A. Muñoz in the years 1932 to 1934. The area of the west half of the former south aisle is now occupied by the thirteenth-century cloister, while the east half of that aisle is taken up by part of the convent of Angelotian nuns, in whose care the church has been since 1930. Until recently the western half of the north aisle of the earlier church was the nuns' refectory; it has, however, lately been restored but without the removal of the thirteenth-century walls which block the former arcades. The eastern half of the earlier north aisle (on the right side of the inner court) is still part of the convent.



FIG. 2. SS. Quirico Giovanni Church, detail of the upper part of the exterior wall.



FIG. 3. SS. Quirico Giovanni Church, detail of the lower part of the exterior wall.

Roman remains have come to light in the neighborhood of the church on various occasions between 1872 and 1935<sup>1</sup>. These include the pavement of the Via Pasulana south of the church

<sup>1</sup> *Annuario di Roma*, 1872, p. 100; 1873, p. 100.

Fig. 5. Interior of church. (Lombardi, *Monumenti*, vol. 1, pl. 100.)Fig. 6. Exterior of church. (Lombardi, *Monumenti*, vol. 1, pl. 100.)

1. The apse (fig. 7) rises high above the Via Tuscolana, a tall half cylinder pierced near the top by three rectangular windows and at crypt level by a low window, all late thirteenth century openings. In the external face of the wall, seven distinct phases of construction are clearly marked (pl. 11, b, c).

Completed and reconstructed through eight centuries, the *S. Quirico e Teresa* church, at almost 1000 years from the Via Tuscolana at the intersection of Via dei Quirici (Fig. 7), with Via dei Quirici, and running in its south side toward the apse of the church, another street pavement cutting both this west-southwest, meeting the apse at an angle of about 30 degrees and then (disappearing beneath it) locally at a north street pavement, parallel to the former (for roughly 600 meters) to the south, behind the cloister. Parallel to the old street and extending northwest are the remains of a large structure which includes a row of *colonnades* which seem to encroach on the width of the street and thus are probably of later date. Another structure occupied the spaces between the fifth and fourth street. Both these buildings were apparently replaced at a later time by a construction of which two curved walls still survive.<sup>1</sup> Immediately behind the apse of the present church, at the intersection of Via dei Quirici with Via Capo d'Arca, elements which were believed to be the remains of an early church were found in 1872. They consist of capitals, inscriptions including Damasian fragments, and a niche with the springing of the vault.<sup>2</sup> A small bath structure was found below the north corner of the apse at the same time; it may be the one noticed by Pietro Sassi Bassoli in the late seventeenth century.<sup>3</sup> In 1927 the walls of a building which appears in date from the fourth century A. D. came to light to the west of the church, ca. 4 m. below ground level. At a higher level, numerous medieval graves have been found.<sup>4</sup> The Servian city wall further west, and the classical mausolea which stood beyond it, need not be discussed here.<sup>5</sup>

## E. ANALYSIS

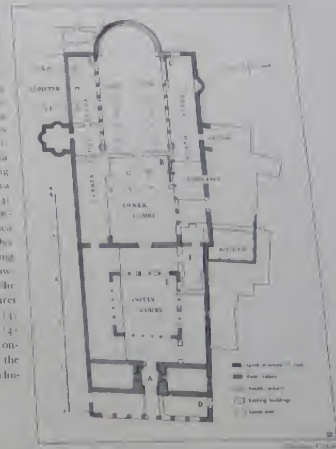
The complete building history of *S. Quirico e Teresa* makes it advisable to anticipate our conclusions at this point in order to identify the four major building phases that have to be distinguished, in addition to the reconstructions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (fig. 8). These are: (1) a fourth century apse hall, (2) a large basilica of Carolingian date, (3) a remodeling on the old plan of this early basilica in the Romanesque period and (4) its replacement in a later Romanesque phase by the present basilica with its forecourt and cloister. Our description of the large building complex is arranged in the following sequence: (1) exterior of the apse, (2) northwest substructures and exterior of the north aisle, (3) gate tower and outer court, (4) inner court, (5) north aisle and convent buildings, (6) interior of the present church and crypt, (7) cloisters and convent (pl. 1).

### 1. The Apse

The apse (fig. 7) rises high above the Via Tuscolana, a tall half cylinder pierced near the top by three rectangular windows and at crypt level by a low window, all late thirteenth century openings. In the external face of the wall, seven distinct phases of construction are clearly marked (pl. 11, b, c).

### a. ANTECEDENT STRUCTURES

The original builders of the apse incorporated in their foundations the remains of a Roman street pavement and of several Roman buildings which skirted that street—the third of the streets listed in the preceding section. The south half of the apse (to the right when viewed from outside) was contiguous to and partly rests against a Roman building which stood oblique to the axis of the church. Originally the Roman walls rose some 10 m. above ground, terminating at a level which was 2.5 m. above the present church floor, but while the apse was being built another story was added, thus increasing the height of the Roman building by four meters and bringing it almost to the level of the seventeenth century window sills. Subsequently the oblique building was demol-

Fig. 8. *S. Quirico e Teresa*. Ground plan of church and forecourt.



and the wall was retained, the rectangular substructure remains (Fig. 2). The masonry (except windows) still of mixed Roman traditions. The later, opening north, being 80 cm to the east, but there can be no proof of this since all surrounding brickwork has been destroyed and the rest is too thin for retention.

## 2. Northwest Substructures and Exterior of the North Aisle

The wall which extends north from the left chamber of the apse, constituting the west end wall of the north aisle, has three vertical divisions (cf. Figs. 1, II, 3, fig. 1). To the right, adjoining the apse, are (a) the upper zone of masonry noted above in the cylinder zones c and f, continuing without a break—the fourth century brickwork in the substructure and the Romanesque brickwork above floor level (Fig. 2, left edge). The adjoining narrow, plaster-faced vertical zone contains three rectangular windows (Fig. 2) which terminate respectively a basement room beneath the north aisle of the early church, the aisle itself, and a chamber which was built above the former aisle end at comparatively late date. To the left of the aisle window is the northwest corner of the aisle and, below it, the massive buttressed substructure on which the aisle rests, in both the brickwork is homogeneous—the bricks are large and little worn, though evidently spoils from Roman buildings, while the undulating courses and the small round or almond holes are typical of the Carolingian period. The proportion of mortar to brick gives a modulus of exactly five courses per Roman foot. Near the base of the substructure buttress is a blocked doorway, 1.87 m. wide, spanned by a shallow arch of nearly vertical bipedals. Since the substructure below the aisle floor was filled in with earth over nearly vertical bipedals, we presume that this doorway led to a small chamber or perhaps to a staircase below the corner extremity of the aisle.

The lower buttress measures 3.20 m. by 3.20 m. in plan at its base, it projects west 2.20 m. and north 0.5 m. from the general wall face of the terrace. Its north face, and that of the adjacent 10 m. high substructure walls are visible from a narrow card which lies between the church and an adjacent building. At the bottom, the Carolingian brickwork rests on a block of concrete (pl. II, b, fig. 2), and at the extreme northwest corner it incorporates a few courses of a brick wall, 44 m. thick. Both belong to an antecedent construction, probably of the third or fourth century. Continuing eastward from the corner buttress, the Carolingian terrace wall is seen over a span of 16 m. (pl. II, b) standing almost in the same plane as the aisle wall above it; indeed, the latter is set back only 0.45 m. from the top of the terrace wall. After a distance of 16 m., the terrace wall then tends to contain an additional platform, excrecent from the side of the facade, which will be described below. The 16 m. length of terrace wall between the corner buttress and the excrecent platform is founded partly on Saxon blocks, raised in Carolingian times f, and partly on the remains of antecedent Roman buildings (fig. 8). About 3 m. west of the excrecent platform we find the remains of a Roman bath tank with a mosaic pavement next to it, embedded in the foundations and sliced off in the vertical plane of the wall face (pl. II, b). To help spread the weight of the walls above the antecedent material, the Carolingian bricklayers inserted four shallow bipedal retaining arches, apparently to concentrate the weight of the brickwork on points of known strength (Fig. 5). The terrace wall is further reinforced by a strong intermediate buttress, 1.27 m. thick and projecting 2.20 m. from the wall face at a distance of 7.80 m. from the corner buttress; it rests on a massive lump of concrete retained from the antecedent buildings. The buttress rises verti-

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 11.  
<sup>2</sup> See below, p. 11.

and the wall height in the opening is indicated by a brick window. Construction (and shape) of the buttress of the church floor is similar to that of the terrace wall, but the latter is of the same height. However, the upper part shows traces of a three-story tower, but the brickwork is rather thin, terminated by the base of the terrace floor. Finally, still further, added to the terrace wall



Fig. 10. View of terrace wall and substructure. Fig. 11. Detail of window opening in brick wall, showing arch and brickwork.

terrace, the corner portion of the buttress and the secondary arches supporting the bulk of a final apse that projected from the aisle wall. Stone blocks between the corner buttress, the terrace wall carried the lateral stambles of this aisle above the buttress, the stone side has broken off, but the west one is intact (fig. 9, upper left corner). Roughly along the middle of the intervals between terrace wall, bracket, and buttress above the right foundation, four courses of the aisle brickwork follow the curved line indicated by the stone arch brackets.

Above a horizontal setback which corresponds approximately with the foundation, the Carolingian brickwork of the aisle wall survives almost to the top before the roof rose later, added before the present upper story was added. However, the position of original openings, if any exist, can no longer be determined due to the fact that modern and medieval builders interrupted the continuity of the brickwork (pl. II, B). About 2 m. above the setback of the terrace, the present height of the Carolingian masonry is shown by a round ledge in the wall face, since it runs the upper chamber, added much later.

At a distance of 16 m. from the northwest corner buttress, the terrace substructure of the north aisle tends at right angles to include a northern extension of the church tower. This supplementary

<sup>3</sup> See Bastardi, *op. cit.*, p. 11, and *ibid.*, p. 12, for the original drawing.

platform apparently was originally 1000 m. long from east to west, and 50 m. wide (1900 m. north-south), the south of the Carolingian structure can be seen today because the terrace was built higher than the ground, and the greater part of the platform, foundation supports, walls, and columns, however, were built in masonry. Outside the northern center and the east wall of the original terrace are, however, some other supports in red sandstone, their Carolingian date is demonstrated by the reused



Fig. 10. SC. Quatre Corneils Roman blocks and masonry of Carolingians.



Fig. 11. SC. Quatre Corneils. Architectural details of a capital.

basilical block members of the lowest courses. In the north-western corner, similar blocks were visible on the exterior of the north wall of the terrace, as in Alo Giovannoli's engraving of 1676.<sup>1</sup>

On the other hand, the surviving portion of the original west wall of the north terrace is built in brickwork which has the Carolingian characteristics already noted in the wall and substructures of the tower walls. Starting from its junction with the north aisle wall the Carolingian brickwork extends north, and quite at right angles with the church, for about 7 m., after which the original fabric breaks off in a ragged serpentine profile and is continued northward in brickwork of a later period. The broken end of the Carolingian brickwork was observed by Alo Giovannoli. The summit of the Carolingian structure is marked by a row of marble corbels, presumably part of a cornice (fig. 11). The massive, arch-like marble window frames above the corbels are possibly of fifteenth century date. Below the cornice, on each side of an oblong sixteenth century window, there are traces of two small round openings about 0.80 m. in diameter, which were evidently built with

the wall. Lower steps, approximately at the level of the church floor, were built simply of white marble which protrude from the wall face as probably the remains of an apse (fig. 12).

Following the terrace substance first to the north and then to the east, one finds various excrescences which were added in later periods. Finally, turning south we come once more to a Carolingian wall, which stands nearly parallel with the north wall of the north aisle, but some distance to the east (pl. 1). The six courses of Servian blocks at the base, noted by Giovannoli, are the retaining wall of the terrace in which the east part of the church stands.

Above, Carolingian brickwork continues upward for seven or eight meters, the summit being hidden by plaster revestment. Here, as we shall see, is evidently the north side of an atrium at the east end of the early basilica. In the higher part of the wall, about one meter above a harried sixteenth century window, an arch of lunets, evidently Carolingian, spans what was once an opening 2.25 m. wide (D on fig. 6) with its apex about 4 m. above the general level of the platform. At a lower level two openings cut through the Servian blocks of the terrace wall lead into vaulted chambers that have been hollowed out of the substructure. At the back of one of these chambers, 9.5 m. south of the terrace façade, the north face of the foundations of the gate tower is exposed; part of it rests on a Roman building of neatly laid brickwork, perhaps dating from the second century, while the rest is founded upon the usual Carolingian Servian blocks.



Fig. 12. SC. Quatre Corneils. Field shows the remains of arches and wall.

### 3. Gate Tower and outer (or first) Court

The gate tower (figs. 2, 12, A on fig. 6) stands on the center line of the complex. The distance from its east wall to the extremity of the apse is 90 m. but the total length of the complex must originally have been somewhat greater, since the Carolingian north wall, as noted in the preceding paragraph, projects east to embrace the two storied building which now masks the lower part of the tower on the east side. The front of this building appears to date from the sixteenth century, but, since its north end wall is Carolingian, the present façade must replace, or perhaps merely hide, a Carolingian west front. A gateway 2.15 m. wide opens into a covered passage which passes first through the eastern building and then through the base of the tower to emerge in the first court (fig. 12). In plan the tower measures 7.60 m. square, and it is 21 m. high from the ground to the eaves. At the base the walls are nearly two meters thick, but they taper slightly as they rise. We have already noted its foundations on the north side, consisting partly of reused Roman wall and partly of Servian blocks, the footings of the other sides are not ascertainable. In the upper part of the building the brickwork of the north, east and west walls is indubitable and the courses tend to die out in the Carolingian manner. Only in the south wall of the tower (near the top, in

the building's guide-pieces (columns) covered with any harkwork, which are 3 over 1 apiece. Next the masonry work and (except the pilasters) which is covered by an almost uniform rubble masonry. The brickwork pattern is the same, but, between them, are (mostly) white marble columns of varying diameters, from 2 feet to 2 feet 6 inches, and (also) square pilasters of varying diameters of brickwork. The arches are made with light-colored stone.



Fig. 16. St. Quirin, East Part of Former Nave. (Photograph by the author, 1927.)



Fig. 17. St. Quirin, East Part of Former Nave. (Photograph by the author, 1927.)

1927) height, and covered by a uniform mass of plaster bricks. The top of the tower is decorated with a single course of white marble bricks supporting three overlapping courses of plain brickwork 1 foot 6 inches thick. Apart from a few repairs, the harkwork of the tower is uniform and unaltered throughout its height and the whole structure, including the arcading, unquestionably dates from the Carolingian period.<sup>1</sup>

The passage emerging from the west into the outer court is spanned by a low pointed arch (presumably of the twelfth century) (fig. 12) a nearly marble plaque records restoration under Cardinal Aluani, Cardinal to the papacy of Martin V. (1378-1419).<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, the arch must be a modification of an earlier opening, for there can be no doubt that the tower always surmounted a passage. The space between the north side of the gate tower and the north wall of the church complex is divided by parallel walls which continue north the east and west sides of the lower

Both walls are provided for their respective foundations (east and west) by a single pier, showing that they are an arch. A corresponding opening is likely to exist at the north of the tower, but unfortunately that part of the temple cannot be examined at present. The wall which divides the nave from the outer court (that is, the south of the East Carolingian building) undoubtedly was 22 m. east of the tower's west wall. Since the distance from the center line of the tower to the north wall is about 17.5 m., the north wall, if it ever existed, must have been 4.5 m. north of the north wall of the tower. The quadrilateral, probably polygonal, area which the pier now defines (from south of a nearly square area) is the only area which can be identified that it was originally an opening. The quadrilateral, probably polygonal, area which the pier now defines (from north and west sides of the tower) (fig. 14) probably dated as the foundation of the original colonnade. One fragment of the original quadrilateral (standing here) has unquestionably survived, unless we see the place where the late medieval English St. Swithin's was constructed into the core of the tower. Part of the Baroque plan's extension has been removed, but toward the brickwork of the chapel wall (fig. 15). The brickwork is double divided into two parts, the right part is medieval and presumably dates from the construction of the chapel, the left part is earlier and may denote the south face of the Carolingian atrium (east part of fig. 16). The brick face has been altered and its character is lost, but the fragment setting of the bricks is in keeping with Carolingian technique. The vertical joint between the two walls would then mark the edge of the east fringe of the northwest (west) part of the Carolingian quadrilateral. On the basis we can not only reconstruct the corner pier but (perhaps also suggest, tentatively) that the square piers probably had five arcades in each side.

Beneath the pavement of the outer court, a large (shaded) center, apparently of Roman origin, Roman construction, traverses the area from north to south at a depth of 4 m. Apparently the builders of the Carolingian atrium included it in their original plan. It does not influence the layout of the church and is omitted from our survey.

#### 4. The Inner Court (East Part of the Former Nave)

The east wall of the Carolingian nave (shown in above reconstruction) is a single height, while wall now separating the inner and outer courtyards. Its eastern end has a plastered wall and (cannot be studied) but part of the brickwork of it, some 100 feet (fig. 18). A wide ground-level opening with a Baroque frame at the center of the wall, probably inserted in the late position in front of it, apparently replaces the Carolingian main doorway. Its right and left narrow doorways were cut through the original wall and were unquestionably blocked up. The plan can be no later than 1770, the date at which a fresco was painted over the east wall of one of the secondary openings. In these parts of the wall which are lost in plaster the characteristic masonry including Carolingian brickwork is seen.

In the northeast corner of the inner court, the Carolingian brickwork forms a brick pier at the eastern extremity of the former arcaded north nave (shown in pl. 11, 2, facing p. 70). Opposite, a rectangular excretion in the southern corner of the courtyard represents the corresponding part of the Carolingian north dome (fig. 13) (the Virginian of medieval literature project)

<sup>1</sup> For a full description of the tower, see the author's report of the excavations, *Journal of the American Institute of Architects*, vol. 19, p. 100, 1927.

<sup>2</sup> *Journal of the American Institute of Architects*, vol. 19, p. 100, 1927.

part of which was built in the porch embedded in a wall of masonry erected to support and from the south side of the choir and in plan a south transept arcade. The plan of the arches is a half of those being nearly identical with the final column supports on the north side of the nave, which are 3.00 m. above floor level. The fragment of the Romanesque north and the triple Gothic south windows will have the upper moldings less finished and the whole block has been severely damaged by fire. The vignette shows that the nave of the Carolingian church was flanked by tribune colonnades. A similar architrave pilastroge formed originally by the north transept plan on the south side of the nave (figs. 3, 4), the Romanesque colonnade at this point has clearly been inserted into the north transept brickwork of the end gable, possibly after the removal of the old architrave.

At a height of 1.30 m. above the south architrave fragment, a heavy double cornice composed of sculptured pieces culled from classical buildings is embedded in the Carolingian masonry of the east pier on the east wall (figs. 14b, 15, 16, 17). One such cornice block is set in the east wall just below the triforium bands by Arnulf in the double floor and now displayed on the double wall there is associated with square colored panels alternating with Roman Doric capitals. The adjacent slab in the surviving fragment of the Carolingian north wall has a larger foliate panel and rests on pilasters of round columns with acanthus foliage (figs. 9, 12). This earlier projection about 0.65 m. from the wall face, in 1892 reconstruction (fig. 17) we presume that the sides of the nave were decorated with a broad cornice resting on brackets while the narrower lower slab, without separate cornice, were reserved for the east end wall. The stump of a bracket and part of another cornice high are seen on the south side of the nave. Above the remains of the architrave block (fig. 14b) only of these marble elements have been suitably called by fire. We deduce from these data that the nave walls of the Carolingian church were embellished with marble arcades and with marble moldings which were separated from the architraves by light frezes. The latter may have been decorated with paintings, but this is quite conjectural.

On the other hand, the arcades which now exist on the north side of the westward transept do not belong to the ninth century phase of construction. The arches remain miscellaneous chiefly with Roman capitals, two of them obviously of Romanesque workmanship (fig. 7). The brickwork of the arcade is too regular and the voussoir bricks are set on radially for Carolingian work. Moreover, inside the transept and church, where wall surfaces are preserved, we find that the reverse face of these arches is finished with the *fines cuneae* pointing which in Rome usually denotes masonry of the twelfth, thirteenth or fourteenth centuries. Hence it appears that, after being severely damaged by fire, the Carolingian church was reconstructed in the high Middle Ages on the old plan, but with arches in place of the former marble architraves. The columns and arcades on the north side of the inner court, together with the clerestory walls which they support, are likewise Romanesque. On the south side of the court, on the other hand, no trace of a Romanesque arcade is found anywhere; the surviving fragment of architrave left in situ suggests that an arcade was even built in place of the tribune colonnade. The reason for this is not clear, but it seems that the east part of the south colonnade may have remained incomplete in the first Romanesque rebuilding. As with the arcaded colonnade on the north side of the inner court, the wall of the transept which now also appears to be Romanesque, nearly 3 m. above the apex of the arcades and only a few centimeters below the eaves of the convent roof, there are traces of former clerestory windows (pl. IIc). The brick walls which and the colonnade are Romanesque work of later date. A *fenestra ante portam* for the scaling of the east transept arch and presumably also of the other arches is provided by the frescoes of the Chapel of Saint Sylvester, which are applied to the reverse face of this wall and are dated 1276.

A cella, perhaps originally a *cisterna*, beneath the western part of the inner court contains some

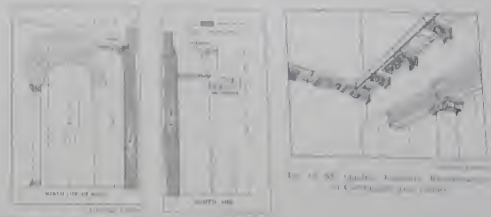


Fig. 15. St. Stephen's Western Wall, showing the position of the Carolingian nave.

Fig. 16. St. Stephen's Western Wall, showing the position of the Carolingian nave window.



Fig. 17. St. Stephen's Western Wall, showing the position of the Carolingian nave.



Fig. 18. St. Stephen's Western Wall, showing the position of the Carolingian nave window.

fragments of brickwork in the wall, which may be the base of some wall or vault covering the south-east corner of the east wall, and which is visible, but only in part, through the structural perforation. The brick wall built up during the reconstruction of the exterior of the choir is also visible in the west wall of the choir. The brickwork in the upper part of the exterior wall is also visible in the west wall of the choir. The brickwork in the upper part of the exterior wall is also visible in the west wall of the choir. The brickwork in the upper part of the exterior wall is also visible in the west wall of the choir.



FIG. 10. EXTERIOR WALL OF THE CHOIR. NORTH-EAST CORNER. (See text for details of the structure.)



FIG. 11. EXTERIOR WALL OF THE CHOIR. NORTH-EAST CORNER. (See text for details of the structure.)

It is clear from the plan that the brickwork and the brickwork as well as the masonry of the exterior wall and the interior wall of the choir. Toward the east part of the choir the masonry is composed of a later opening subsequently filled in with masonry (brickwork) which also contains the remains of an earlier structure of stone masonry.

In the east wall of the choir, beneath the springing of the concrete vault, we find two strata of masonry built up during the reconstruction of the choir wall and therefore appear in consequence of the plan. The lower stratum comprises two parallel walls of the choir (A-B) 100 cm. apart, which are the remains of the masonry of the choir. The concrete foundations, 1.50 m. deep, were cast in situ. The upper stratum is a brick wall. It is parallel with the church plan and built up in brickwork in a masonry of five courses per Roman foot (Fig. 12, left edge). It is built up in brickwork and has at its base a single course of large bricks which project 0.10 m. outwardly, through that is a plain concrete foundation wall (C) consisting of lamps of masonry.

CONSTRUCTION OF THE CHOIR. (See text for details of the structure.)

masonry. This masonry is supported by the brickwork wall (D-E) of the north end of the choir. Nevertheless wall B is supported by masonry or concrete in exactly the same way, but is practically contemporary with the wall forming the south end of the choir. This wall is parallel with the wall of the choir and has the same type of masonry as the choir level. We do not know the thickness. It must differ from the thickness of the choir level (as shown in the north end fragment) and must have been either perpendicular to or parallel to the masonry of the choir. The correspondence between wall B and the choir masonry south of the choir suggests that this wall which forms the north end of the choir is older than the north wall.

### 3. The North Aisle and Convent Buildings

A small doorway in the further corner of the inner court, before the eleventh century portico, gives access to a large chamber which was originally the east end of the north aisle and more recently served as the convent refectory (cf. Fig. 13). It is built with the six masonry columns of the former Romanesque nave colonnade which are placed with the columns on the north side of the inner court. As in the choir, they are a varied collection of Ionic, Doric and composite capitals, some medieval, others classical. Immediately to the left of the doorway, a brick pier, cruciform and measuring 1.15 m. in width and 1.50 m. in thickness (Fig. 13, left edge). Flanked on each side by six columns and seven arches, the pier stands in the middle of the original colonnade, halfway between the former facade and the apse. The brickwork of the pier is painted with Romanesque *folia rotunda*. The same type of brick is seen in some of the blank walls which lead up the arcade to create the north wall of the present church, especially in the transept. Hence it is very



FIG. 12. EXTERIOR WALL OF THE CHOIR. NORTH-EAST CORNER.





restoration of the wall, partly reconstructed with bricks set in 1800, and completed in the last century (the brick passages) under its north spanches made of heavy Roman masonry. The current plan suggests that in all its evolution this chamber was formed out of a single Roman structure, suggesting that the chamber had possibly become a chapel.

The walls to the east of the domed chapel now form part of the exterior, being left by the masons and we have been unable to examine the masonry. Nevertheless, it is possible to distinguish the axes of the original basilica in its general disposition of its walls (pl. 1). The north wall of the Carolingian basilica continues east more or less in its work as west part and reaches the plane of the original facade, 40 m. from the northwest corner. At this point the northeast corner of the former basilica juts out from the south side of the medieval convent kitchen. The west wall of the kitchen is probably Romanesque. Its upper part, as it emerges above the convent roof is certainly Romanesque, and the fact that the same wall continues south, at floor level, to witness the former north aisle and continue the west wall of the Chapel of S. Silvestro suggests that the whole medieval kitchen dates from the second Romanesque phase.

Beyond the northeast corner of the original basilica the north wall of the atrium continues—yet is, however, about 100 m. south of the aisle wall, and turned about 90° to the south (pl. 1). The reason for the irregularity is uncertain, but is likely to be the precipitous terrain and the proximity of the Via Tuscolana. Near the northeast corner of the atrium the modern Via dei SS. Quattro Coronati runs steeply in its ascent of the Colles as escarpment. Probably the ancient road took the same route and, being rock level at its summit, was sufficiently unmovable to overcome the irregularities of the Carolingian plan.

Part of the late Romanesque remodeling which reduced the church complex to its present form was the creation of the Chapel of S. Silvestro. It occupies the northwest corner of the former atrium and extends into what was originally the east end of the north aisle (F on fig. 6). In building the chapel, the old wall of the aisle was removed but its former existence is demonstrated by the plan of the adjoining wall (pl. 1), a marked obliquity in the north side of the chapel shows where the thirteenth century builders concealed the corner between the north wall of the atrium and that of the basilica by filling out the former and shaving back the latter. A thick wall parallel to both the west wall of the convent kitchen and the east wall of the Carolingian "crypt" and standing 7.00 m. east of the latter may also be Carolingian; its masonry has not been examined but it is at right angles to the north side of the terrace, which is certainly Carolingian.

#### 6. Interior of the Present Church (West Part of the Former Nave) and Crypt

The eastern chancel of SS. Quattro Coronati occupies the west half of the earlier and larger Romanesque basilica (pls. 1, II, 3). It is divided from the east half, the main choir, by a wall 0.60 m. thick, provided by a vaulted porch, apparently of sixteenth century date. The nave of the present building is flanked by four columns and by arcades, with side aisles and galleries above (fig. 4). The gallery arcades are arranged in two groups of three openings separated by a pier which rises over the apex of the middle arch in the lower order (pl. II, 4). Formerly, the arcading of the galleries continued across the east end of the present nave and opened into a gallery over the porch in the inner court. To the west, the nave terminates at a tall triumphal arch beyond which the transept occupies the whole breadth of the earlier nave. The apse, unchanged from the earlier plan, occupies almost

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 101.

the full width of the transept. The apse and colonnades of the east part of the earlier and larger church have disappeared, largely obscured by the wall of the present wall but not really by the masonry (fig. 4). Near the southeast corner of the north aisle, a passage in the lower line of the Carolingian pier arches marked the "normal" point of the earlier system. One remaining fragment of the earlier aisle remains, including the south transept pier, with traces of the east end from the western half of the early Romanesque south side entrance. It appears as a small archway, describing the north corner, the trace is found at the outside left of that entrance.

Although the crypt was produced by the extension of the choir, the location of the



FIG. 31. SS. Quattro Coronati. North transept of present church.



FIG. 32. SS. Quattro Coronati. Crypt. Original crypt with vault for floor.

enabled Minozzi to reconstruct the Carolingian plan and to lower some of the Carolingian walls exposed? At present, two seventeenth century stairways descend into the crypt (pl. 1). They lie close to the north and south transept walls, and at the chord of the apse they turn to right and left, avoiding the apse shoulders. Here they enter the subterranean crypt passage which, at a level, follows the interior of the apse wall. The floor of the passage is 4 1/2 m. below level floor level but, because of the steeply descending terrain and the great height of the apse shoulders, it is of course high above the level of the ground outside. The crypt window (fig. 32), on the apse center line, opens about nine meters above ground. Just in front of this window, in the center of the curved passage, a straight circular lead, east to the entrance. Since the seventeenth century alterations, four urns containing the relics of the Four Coronati have stood in a vaulted chamber only 3 m. east of the junction of the passage, and thus within the semi-circular area of the apse. But in the original arrangement the central passage was longer, leading to a compartment, about 4 m. square, east of the apse chord. This chamber was discovered in 1922 and is still accessible through a grating in the transept floor. The brick wall, an entirely Carolingian, and the chamber had an

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 101.

<sup>2</sup> Minozzi, *op. cit.*, "S. Quattro Coronati," *ibid.*, p. 107-111. (See also *ibid.*, pp. 104-105, 107-108.)



Fig. 11. SS. Quattro Coronati. South aisle wall, exterior.



Fig. 12. SS. Quattro Coronati. South aisle wall, interior.

angled pavement made by traditional masonry shafts? To the north and south of this compartment, Minori also discovered the walls of the Carolingian stairways. Apparently the stairs began on a north-south axis and turned at right angles to enter the present passage; the stairway walls, as found, feature niches for lamps (fig. 24).

#### 7. Cloisters and Convent (South Aisle of the former Church)

A doorway in the south wall of the present church leads to the area in the cloisters which originally was part of the south aisle of the early basilica (pl. I). The thick wall between the northwest corner of the cloisters and the present sacristy is presumably the west end wall of the former aisle. The side wall of the aisle has been removed to make way for the cloisters and garden, but Maroz loca-



Fig. 13. SS. Quattro Coronati. South aisle wall, exterior.

<sup>1</sup> Maroz loc. cit. p. 10. The author also mentions an architectural survey of the area, made from aerial photography, which indicates the location of the cloisters and garden.

ted the foundations and built a heavy masonry base for the stone wall of the exterior of the intermediate right position. Part of the exterior wall below the wall (fig. 25) (1900) is the full height of the aisle in a series of six thick walls (fig. 26) (1900) which is typical of the wall, the wall being the wall of the aisle. The thickness is especially characteristic, with round Roman bricks, including a series of four narrow ones. The bricks are about 10 cm. high, 10 cm. wide, and 10 cm. thick. Roman masonry, possibly the signature of the wall. A perpendicular joint in the brickwork divides the wall into two parts of the original aisle, but the wall is a height of 6 m. above ground between the lower corners are, but in a similar fashion. A wall of the same thickness which continues east to the front division is assumed to be the south side of the Carolingian atrium, but unfortunately we have hardly any other evidence for the position of the corridor.<sup>1</sup>

A small cross-vaulted chapel with three apses is located in the south aisle of the church near the middle of the aisle wall. It lies 10 m. north (and to the east) of the church, near the brickwork (fig. 26). The plan is approximately square, each wall measuring about 3.5 m. internally. The three exterior walls are 9 cm. thick with the fourth side (to the north) integral with the wall of the aisle. The concrete cross walls join on four rectangular marble capitals (fig. 27), and it is probable that corner pilasters were originally placed between them, reminiscent to the chapel of S. Zeno at S. Pavesio.<sup>2</sup> The original entrance to the chapel from the south aisle is a rectangular doorway, formerly only 90 cm. wide but subsequently enlarged. The basal width of the opening can be deduced from the position of the brickwork; the door shows that the original doorway was not on the axis of the chapel but lower than in the wall at the center line. Each of the other three walls has a central semi-circular niche, the niche opening to the doorway 3.10 m. wide, those in the east and west walls measuring 1.20 m. and 1.00 m. respectively. A modern doorway has been cut through the back of the western niche. The chapel is illuminated by rectangular windows with pierced marble transoms above each niche. The walls and vaults are decorated with the remains of frescoes, mostly of the thirteenth century, but traces of ninth century paintings show underneath. The chapel lies exactly opposite the domed chapel which opens off the north aisle (pl. I).

#### E. RECONSTRUCTION

##### 1. The Fourth Century Building

The layout of the buildings succeeding each other on the site of the church and convent of SS. Quattro Coronati was little influenced, if at all, by the Roman remains found near and below the present buildings. The Roman streets, the houses, the baths and the apse and at the base of the north wall, and finally, the remains of *lobbia* walls in the cellar below the main court, are all oblique to the axis of the present church and its predecessor (pl. I).

The site's first important building was the scope of our study was the structure sketched in the south quadrant of the apse and in the foundation wall which continues throughout the length of the Carolingian north colonnade and turns into the north wall of the inner courtyard after. This structure consisted of a single nave, about 40 R. ft. wide internally, terminated by a fine

<sup>1</sup> See also, p. 11.  
<sup>2</sup> See also, p. 11.  
<sup>3</sup> See also, p. 11.

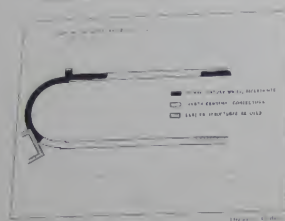


Fig. 28. SS. Quattro Coronati. Reconstructed plan of original apsed building.

basilica. The floor level of the hall is presumably below the present nave floor, between the foundation and the rising walls. As the original summit of the apse is lost, we are unable to estimate the height of the hall. The absence of intermediate strata, between the remains of the Roman bath on the north side of the nave and the Carolingian terrace walls which rise above them, proves that the first building had no side aisles. The stump of an integral wall projecting north from the shoulder of the apse must therefore be interpreted as a buttress — a necessary feature in a building which stood so close to the edge of the escarpment.

## 2. A Sixth or Seventh Century Construction

The pavement which survives in the north aisle of the first Romanesque church appears by its style to date from the sixth century or a little later (fig. 21). It seems to be one of a group of pavements of a make and design so similar as to suggest the activity of a single workshop. Examples of this group are the floor of the presbytery of S. Maria Antiqua, dated after 575; the pavements in the lower church of S. Clemente, 245 to 247; a floor seen by Vespignani in the east basilica of S. Lorenzo I. L. M., 570 to 590; and finally, the floor in the room to the right of the apse of S. Crisostomo, after 590.<sup>2</sup> However, the example at SS. Quattro Coronati is almost the only evidence of building activity there in the sixth century or possibly slightly later. The pavement is flanked to the south by the foundation wall of the fourth century apsed hall which later carried the colonnade of the ninth century church, to the north stands the Carolingian aisle wall. If the pavement is not Carolingian, the only possible explanation for it would be to suppose that a contemporaneous foundation wall is hidden between the inner and outer faces of the Carolingian

<sup>2</sup> See above, Vol. I, p. 563 and *Corpus Basilicarum Christianarum Romae*, Vol. III, pp. 112-113, p. 113 (11). Under the pavement in the presbytery of S. Maria Antiqua, and the mosaic in the apse of S. Maria Antiqua, the pavement of the apse and side walls. The mosaic also revealed plans in *Corpus Basilicarum Christianarum Romae*, Vol. III, pp. 112-113, p. 113 (11). Under the pavement in the room to the right of the apse of S. Crisostomo, see above, Vol. I, pp. 110-111, p. 110, fig. 210 ff.

apse (fig. 26). The southern quadrant of this apse too held the corner of an obliquely oriented rectangular building. The length of the axis is uncertain. Since the extant foundations of the north wall are over 120 R. ft. long, the hall — although recalling the Basilica of Junius Bassus (S. Andrea in Catacombary) — was very different in proportions, i.e., while the latter had nearly the same width as the hall at Quattro Coronati, its inner length was little more than about 60 or, with the narthex, 80 R. ft.<sup>3</sup> Even if the building at Quattro Coronati was provided with a similar narthex in its eastern part, the hall itself must have had proportions considerably longer than the Bas-

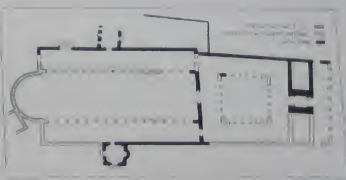


Fig. 29. SS. Quattro Coronati. Reconstructed plan of Carolingian basilica.

substructure. The faces are undoubtedly Carolingian, but it is possible that they are only refacings of an older wall which, together with the wall of the apsed hall, might have bounded the room in which the pavement was laid. Whether this room was a closed side room or an aisle opening into the apsed hall, remains an open question.

## 3. The Carolingian Church

When the apsed hall was replaced by the first Carolingian basilica, the original apse was retained and possibly heightened, while the side walls of the hall were razed to the level where they could be used as stylobutes for nave colonnades (fig. 29). The rapid fall of the terrain north of the right hand colonnade necessitated the construction of an immense terraced substructure for the north aisle. A simple basilica of three aisles, 160 R. ft. long and 100 R. ft. wide, was created. It was entered from the east through a single doorway on the center line; subsidiary doors may have opened into the aisles, but no trace of them is left. Nave and aisles were separated by colonnades and, while the number of columns is unknown, the donation by Leo IV of thirty-four

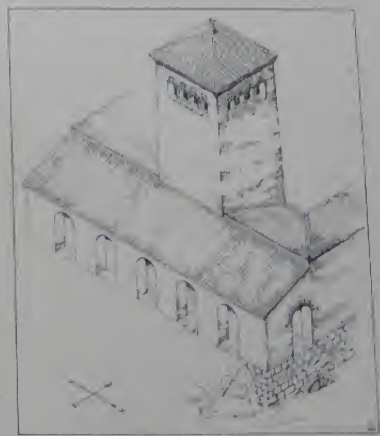


Fig. 30. SS. Quattro Coronati. Suggested reconstruction, Carolingian basilica tower and porch from southeast.

colonnade had seventeen intercolumniations and thus sixteen columns. We know that the colonnades terminated at the east end with brick end piers and supported marble architraves.

<sup>3</sup> See above, fig. 217 ff.

Above the nave, heavy masonry screens surrounded the choir. Since the Carolingian look-out in the apse wall rises above the level of the sacristies, capitals, colonades, the Carolingian apse may have been probably not much lower than those of the first Romanesque choir and therefore more than 50 R. in height. Into the base of the apse was inserted an ambulatory (Fig. 2) and corridor following the curve of the apse wall. From the centre of this corridor a straight passage led to the relic-chamber, a square room at the west end of the nave, where Leo IV allowed the sarcophagi of the four martyrs in whom the church is dedicated. Above the high altar rose a columnade with piers (along the intercolumniation)<sup>1</sup>, presumably a gift of Leo IV. Some of the columns have survived in the Puster<sup>2</sup>. To the east the basilica was preceded by an approximately square atrium surrounded by a quadrangular, each pier having five arcades which rested on square piers and, presumably, columns. The atrium was entered in the church-axis through an eastern entrance. Above this rose a high, square tower which interrupted the east portion and culminated in an arcaded loggia. The continuation of the north side wall of the atrium beyond the east flank of the tower and the niches in this piece of wall, suggest the possibility of an arcaded porch (Fig. 3).

North of the basilica and atrium, the artificial terrace projected as an excrescence, 150 R. in long from east to west and 75 to 80 R. in width. In the west part of this terrace survive the remains of a fence, in a second period this was transformed into a loomed chapel which communicated with the north aisle. In the west part of the north aisle a bay which strengthened the sub-structure was adapted to support a small apse projecting from the side of the aisle, this was probably another chapel. A third chapel still projects from the south aisle. They are probably the chapels of St. Barbara, Nicholas and Sixtus mentioned under Leo IV.<sup>3</sup>

#### 4. The First Romanesque Church

The ruined remains of the Carolingian nave churches show that this first basilica was destroyed by fire (Figs. 1, 10). Apparently the colonades and the clareways walls perished completely, together with the north quadrant of the apse wall. However, the outside walls of the aisles and the east wall survived, as did the vaulted building to the south and perhaps the residential northern building. The perimeter walls of the atrium and the gate tower remained untouched. We do not know if the atrium passages were affected. In due course the ruined church was restored using the remains of the earlier walls and thus constituting the outline of the plan (Fig. 3). The north quadrant of the apse was rebuilt. Subsidiary doorways were cut by the lacade wall of the nave, flanking the central opening. A new set of ancient columns was collected for the nave colonades and provided with Ionic capitals, some classical, some Romanesque imitations. The level of the bases and hence the floor level was slightly lower than in the present smaller church. Instead of high, arcades spanned the intercolumnations, but for some reason the old capitals survived in the east bays of the south colonnade.<sup>4</sup> At the center of each colonnade, the rhythm of the arcades was

<sup>1</sup> *L. P.* II, p. 143.

<sup>2</sup> *Ann. p. 11*, for the clareways, no above the apse.

<sup>3</sup> See *Monat. sp. 10*, 1897/98, p. 11.

<sup>4</sup> *L. P.* II, p. 143.

<sup>5</sup> The matter was queried also in connection with the choir supports in *Antiquar. Forsch.* 20 (1911) p. 11, also referred to in *Arch. Anz.* 1911, p. 143, where the matter was also queried.

interrupted by a crossway pier dividing the nave into two bays of equal width. Columns with high, classical capitals were collected for the nave colonades and a triforium, which spanned across each of the former aisles. Layers of these windows, the old passages in the west part of the sanctuary, while the narrow, high wall which was built. Here, however, only in the form of the present triforium (Fig. 3).

The triforium of Gertrud and Prothasia have been preserved in this construction, but the two remaining passages on the base of the high triforium equally with by the Carolingian party.<sup>5</sup> The high chamber of Leo IV has been reconstructed, the relic tower and the complex destroyed. A new high altar was erected and dedicated. All this was the work of Pagan II, as revealed in an inscription, formerly on the high altar.

#### 5. The Second Romanesque Church

In a second rebuilding the church was greatly reduced in size. The aisles of the first Romanesque basilica were abandoned, as was the east part of its nave (pl. I, II, a). Inside the west part of the former nave was inserted the existing church, comprising nave,

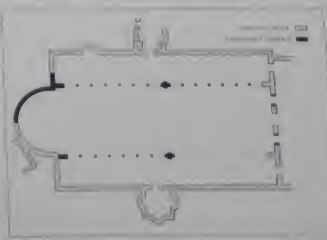


Fig. 1.—50. Quarter Church, Romanesque Church and Carolingian Basilica

triforium, aisles and, apparently, apse. The latter, however, may have been a plain, flat-roofed, whose only function was to reduce the span of the roof joists. St. Almodis, Bonifacio and St. Cyria in Gertrudenberg were built in the thirteenth century, after the parallel.<sup>6</sup> During the time of the construction of the second Romanesque church, or independently, the substantial parts of the former church were utilized, the west part of the north aisle was used for residential chambers, while the west portion was demolished to make way for a church. The east half of the former nave became an open covered passage between the old atrium and the new nave. The former north aisle was raised off and part of it was added to the northern residential building. However, the construction line of the north aisle was joined to the southeast corner of the former atrium by demolishing the high east wall and the Church of St. Sylvester was thus created. North and east of this chapel and above the north, the north wing of the residence was enlarged in the construction of the rear-story kitchen and a great tower-like structure over it. Other annexes were added to the east and west of this north wing.

<sup>6</sup> See also the comparison.

<sup>7</sup> *Monat. sp.* 10, 1897/98, p. 11.

<sup>8</sup> *Monat. sp.* 10, 1897/98, p. 11.

<sup>9</sup> See also *Vol. I*, p. 143, p. 143.

## 6. Later Works

The subsequent changes to the church can be summarized briefly. The fourth atrium that is, the forum itself, was associated with pilasters, probably in the sixteenth century. Inside the church the apse was remodelled, the apse was reroceated and a new high altar was erected by Cardinal Milini, between 1624 and 1630. Finally, the renovations directed by A. Minio in 1912 to 1914 returned the church to its thirteenth century aspect while at the same time uncovering the arcades of the eleventh century church.

## G. CHRONOLOGY

The history of SS. Quattro Coronati is comparatively well documented from the pontificate of Leo IV (817-855) onwards, but its prior history is hard to unravel. The points in question concern the formation in Rome of a cult center of the Quattro Coronati and its location, the foundation of a titulus of that name—the chronological and topographical relations of that titulus to the *titulus Ardeus*<sup>1</sup>; and the establishment of either of these tituli in the buildings occupying the site of the present church and convent.

The site of the martyrs was established in Rome by the middle of the fourth century. But nothing is certain regarding the identity of the Four Coronati or the origin and location of their cult centers or near the city. One *Passio*, possibly as early as the fourth century, presents them as *sculptores* who suffered martyrdom in Pamphili under Diocletian; a second *Passio* makes them soldiers who died for the faith in Rome.<sup>2</sup> The *Depositio Martirum* in 351 lists on November 9 the festival and the names of the four "in *omnibus*"<sup>3</sup>—a toponym which refers either to a region in Plerencia<sup>4</sup> or—as is the case with the majority of listings in that inscription—to some place in the Roman Campagna. Indeed, the guides of the seventh century unite the burial place of the four martyrs in the catacombs of SS. Marcelino e Pietro on the Via Labicana.<sup>5</sup> The veneration of their images in the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* in November 11 "ad *Coelis monte*"<sup>6</sup> compounds the confusion for this has been taken to mean that, from the outset, the cult center was on or near the site of the present church in the city.<sup>7</sup> However, this citation occurs only in the Bernensis edition of the martyrology, which—unlike most of that collection—does not date from 522 or earlier but is comparatively late, albeit not later than the end of the sixth century. Thus the citation in the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* is more or less contemporaneous with the first documentary reference in 525 to the "titulus Ardeus Quatuor Coronatorum."<sup>8</sup>

On the other hand, a "titulus Ardeus" appears in the signatures of 499 and disappears from the signed list of 595, to be replaced by a "titulus Quatuor Coronatorum." On this basis it has always been assumed that the two are identical, and that SS. Quattro Coronati replaced the *titulus Ardeus*. But this is not entirely certain. To be sure, the title "titulus Ardeus" can be traced back to 199,<sup>9</sup> and the identity of the two titles seems to be proved by the absence of the lar-

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 100-101 and V. I. Strömberg, *op. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> *Passio*, *op. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> *Depositio*, *op. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> See above, pp. 102-103, 107-108.

<sup>5</sup> See above, pp. 102-103, 107-108.

<sup>6</sup> See above, pp. 102-103, 107-108.

<sup>7</sup> See above, pp. 102-103, 107-108.

<sup>8</sup> See above, pp. 102-103, 107-108.

table "Quatuor Coronatorum" from the earlier list, and of the fragment "Ardeus" from the later.<sup>10</sup> But it must be pointed out that as late as the ninth century, the *Liber Pontificalis* (under a signature "titulus Ardeus" alongside "St. Quatuor Coronati")<sup>11</sup>. In any event, the foundation of the *titulus Ardeus* may go back long before 199.

As long as the fourth century wall which the present structure incorporates was unknown, it was natural to look for the early cult center of the faith at the foot of the hill where Christian trade—epitaphs and frescoes in a hall which had been transformed into a chapel—had come to light in the sixteenth century.<sup>12</sup> It was all the more natural since the existence of the cult center of the four saints "ad *Coelis monte*" was assigned to the fourth or the early fifth century. But the arguments carry little weight. The frescoes in question were apparently of high medieval date, "de *tempore antich-medievum*"<sup>13</sup>; the epitaph, including the Damascian fragment, may well be success from the mass of similar plaques brought from the catacombs for use as passing stones in the Romanesque, or perhaps even in the Carolingian basilica; and as discussed above, the cult center "ad *Coelis monte*" need not have existed much before the end of the sixth century.

The discovery of the aisleless apsed hall below the Carolingian and the first Romanesque trisula seems at first glance to eliminate all doubt about the location of the *titulus Ardeus*. The structural technique of that building is certainly not later than the fourth century. The proportion of mortar to brick, the double-faced mortar pointing, and the carefully faced rubble foundation walls are all closely paralleled in the Constantinian structure of the Lateran basilica. The use of bipedal courses for strengthening the attachment of the brick wall face to the concrete core, common in the seventh century, is rare, if ever known in Rome after the fourth century.

However, the problem is complex and there remain a number of possibilities. The "titulus Ardeus" may be identical with the later "titulus sanctissimum Quatuor Coronatorum," both legally and physically, in which case two alternatives present themselves. It is possible the apsed nave was built from the outset as the meeting hall of that titulus, about the middle of the fourth century or not much later. Nothing in the plan or structure of the hall would discount this date; indeed, the apse is appropriately laid out pointing west. If this holds, it is equally possible that it originally was a reception hall in one of the great domus which stood on the Coelian Hill, becoming a church only later when the domus was acquired by the Christian community as one of their tituli. This, obviously would have taken place before 499, when the *titulus Ardeus* is first mentioned. The cult of the four martyrs would then have been transferred to the trisula in the course of the sixth century, replacing its older name, certainly before 595 when it appears in an official document.

But there is still another possibility. The *Liber Pontificalis* states in the biography of Boniface I (619-628) that this pope made, dedicated and endowed the church of the Quattro Coronati.<sup>14</sup> Nothing in the structure can be attributed perhaps to the seventh century except perhaps the pavement found in the area of the old north aisle (fig. 21) and some channel points. Nevertheless, the wording of the *Liber Pontificalis*, though brief, is precise and can be interpreted to support the hypothesis that Honorius transferred the cult of the four saints to an existing secular building, the apsed nave. In Honorius' biography the words "fecit a sole" are omitted with regard to the churches he restab-

<sup>10</sup> *Acta*, *op. cit.*

<sup>11</sup> See above, pp. 102-103, 107-108.

<sup>12</sup> *Acta*, *op. cit.*

<sup>13</sup> *Acta*, *op. cit.*

<sup>14</sup> See above, pp. 102-103, 107-108.



The Carolingian renovation of SS. Quirico e Giulitta expanded the previous structure into an imposing large church. Characteristic of the revival of Early Christian tradition is the use of columns supporting an entablature rather than arcades, the formation of an apse with a quadripartite and the construction of an annular crypt. The tower over the entrance gate, reminiscent of a triumphal archway, may reflect the impact of a transitional style on Rome.<sup>1</sup>

In the late Romanesque, consolidating, both possibly datable to the reign of Paschal II, the first church replaced the frontal architrave with an arcaded colonnade, in accordance with twelfth century practice, thus presenting the cross-shaped pier to accent the longitudinal progression of the colonnade. The general reconstruction of the church in the Romanesque period greatly reduced the role of the transept galleries, possibly shared comparable to those in analogous Romanesque churches.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> GARDINER, *Architecture*, *Church in Italy*, *Classical Architecture*, pp. 268-69, 194-5; p. 111, n. 10, pp. 107, 108, 110-11.

S. Corbelli

## A. BIBLIOGRAPHY

- FRASCA, *Chiese romaniche*, 1938, p. 56.  
 GIORDANO, *Storia*, 1938, pp. 212-213; 1952, supplement in paginazioni, libro 1, pp. 212 ff.  
 PASQUOLINI, *Tracce*, *Nuovo*, libro 1, p. 125 ff.; libro 2, p. 212 ff.  
 TORRIGIO, *Le chiese della Regione*, Roma, 1929, p. 305 ff.  
 MARTELLI, *Roma e il Lazio*, 1909, 16/3, p. 293 f.  
 FERRARIS, *Le chiese*, VIII, 1926, p. 217 ff.  
 NARBONNI, "D. alcuni sotterranei condotti", *Studi e Documenti di Storia e Diritto* 2 (1881), p. 103 ff.; esp. 168 ff.  
 LANZANI, "Il Foro di Augusto", *Bull. Com.* 2 (1886), pp. 26 ff.; 35 ff.  
 BOSSI, "Di alcune pitture medievali", 29, *Quirico e Giulitta*, V, B. I. C., 10 (1909), p. 65 ff.  
 CECCHIETTI, "SS. Quirico e Giulitta", *Roma* 1 (1933), p. 450.  
 HUBER, *Chiese*, 1927, p. 428.  
 RAVA, "Santi Quirico e Giulitta", *Bull. Com.* 41 (1934), p. 125 ff.  
 MONTALI, "Indagini e ipotesi sulle chiese di SS. Quirico e Giulitta", *Bollettino del Reale Istituto di archeologia e storia dell'arte* 6 (1933-36), p. 127 ff.  
 GIOVANNONI, "La chiesa dei Santi Quirico e Giulitta", *Atti del II Congresso Nazionale di Storia dell'Architettura* (1937), Roma, 1936, p. 491 ff.  
 ZUCCHI, *Roma Documenti*, II, Firenze, 1910, p. 173 ff.  
 AMBROGIATI CECCHIETTI, *Chiese*, 1913, p. 218 ff.  
 CORBELLI, "The Church of SS. Quirico e Giulitta in Rome", *Papers Bull. School of Architecture*, p. 31 ff.  
 BOSSI, *SS. Quirico e Giulitta. Le Chiese di Roma Illustrate*, 600 Roma, ed. 1961.<sup>3</sup>

## B. ANCIENT DESCRIPTIONS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

## I. ANCIENT DESCRIPTIONS

- UOSUCCI, *Selezioni*, Rome, Vatican Library, Bach. Lat. 10911, ff. 116 v, 102; 106; c. 109 (137); 216; c. 79.  
 ROMA, *Descrizione degli edifici celebrati*, Rome, Vatican Library, Vat. Lat. 11664, c. 13.  
 UOSUCCI, *Storia*, *loc. cit.*  
 TORRIGIO, *loc. cit.*  
 MELLONI, *Dell'antichità di Roma*, Roma, Vatican Library, Vat. Lat. 11961, c. 218 ff.; 198 ff.; —  
 BRUZZO, *Treatum Urbis Romae*, XVII, Rome, Vatican Library, Vat. Lat. 11886, f. 100 ff.; 130 ff.  
 Rome, Archivio di Stato, *Corrispondenza religiosa*, SS. Quirico e Giulitta, pacco 3, fasc. 4, ss. 83<sup>v</sup>, 134<sup>v</sup>; 167, 168.  
 RAVA, *loc. cit.*, p. 230 f.  
 Rome, Archivio Lateranense, *Epistolaria SS. Quirico e Giulitta*, *Contestazioni giudiziali*, no. B, 1741 (164), p. 2 f.  
 Rome, Archivio Lateranense, *Epistolaria, Fondo SS. Quirico e Giulitta*, *Documenti della chiesa*, 1266, vol. A, B, C, Narbonne.  
*loc. cit.*, p. 1 f.; MONTALI, *loc. cit.*, p. 178 f.; cited by MONTALI to also in *Libro di ricordi*.  
 Rome, Archivio di Stato, *Corrispondenza religiosa*, SS. Quirico e Giulitta, pacco 3, lettera A, RAVA, *loc. cit.*.  
 CASTELLORI, *Adriana di Ulpia Ulpia*, Rome, Vatican Library, Vat. Lat. 1166, c. 6 ff.

## II. ANCIENT ILLUSTRATIONS

1302. SIMONDI, View of church from south. *Trattato di architettura*, engraving. *Disegni sopra le antichità di Roma*, Venice 1782, pl. 6 (104 fig. 33).

<sup>3</sup> The studies by the Italian and foreign descriptions of SS. Quirico e Giulitta are given in chronological order in MONTALI, p. 56, p. 133 ff.





## D. GENERAL DESCRIPTION

The church of SS. Quirico e Giulitta stands to the east of the Forjio di Augusto, only a few feet from the great stone screen which rises behind the Temple of Mars Ultor (figs. 17, 33). Its orientation is almost precisely west-east, with the entrance at the west end. The church owes its present form substantially to the restorations of 1758-1757.<sup>1</sup> The single entrance is embellished with a colonnade above which the inscriptions of Sixtus IV and Paul V are displayed.<sup>2</sup>



Fig. 12. SS. Quirico e Giulitta. Composite view of church from north-south (see page 100).



Fig. 13. SS. Quirico e Giulitta. Side view of church from north-south (see page 100).



Fig. 14. SS. Quirico e Giulitta. Plan of church from north-south (see page 100).

Inside a rectangular presbytery continues the simple nave eastward and shelters the high altar. Projecting piers and arches divide the nave into four bays; it is lit by windows set high above the arches (pl. III). Above the vaulted ceiling, a spacious attic built in 1750 serves as refectory and dormitory for the clergy.<sup>3</sup> A Romanesque campanile stands at the southeast corner of the nave. At present both flanks of the church are hidden by private houses and other secular buildings which press against its walls, and the original situation is better understood through sixteenth century illustrations (figs. 35, 36). However, the south wall was accessible in 1970 while the adjacent hotel was being rebuilt. At that time other important parts of the original church, dating from the sixth century, were discovered. Indeed, other elements of the early building had previously been found in cellars beneath the nave. By adding these data to information from

<sup>1</sup> See above, fig. 100.  
<sup>2</sup> See above, fig. 101.  
<sup>3</sup> See above, fig. 102.

illustrations and descriptions of the structure prior to 1690, it is possible to reconstruct the outlines of the original church. In particular Fra Santi's woodcut (fig. 34) and the more contemporary rancorous description of 1588 (see an idea of the church at that time). It was a single nave with chapels disposed along each side wall, but it differed from the present church in numerous respects: a) the orientation was reversed, with the entrance at the east end and the altar at the west end; b) a low, polygonal apse opening in a huge central window projected from what is now the west façade; c) on either side above the apse two round-headed windows (square in the nave wall); they were covered by marble slabs with numerous round holes; d) floor and roof levels were about four meters lower than at present; e) the original walls of the nave were visible, the present walls are built inside these, masking them from the interior (pl. III).

The axis was reversed in 1608 when the altar was transferred to the location of the original entrance.<sup>4</sup> Perhaps at this time the central window of the apse was transformed into the portal which appears in Maggi's view of the church.<sup>5</sup> However, the rebuilding was apparently completed only in 1690-1693, when a new square chancel was added at the east end of the nave, and the diaphragm arches which closed the nave were all raised to the same height.<sup>6</sup> In all likelihood, at the same time, the old polygonal apse was removed and the present floor was created.<sup>7</sup> Nevertheless, the church could be entered from the west long before the seventeenth century. As early as 1588, Fra Santi's woodcut (fig. 34) shows doorways set in wing walls on either side of the old apse. Ugolinis makes it clear that the original eastern entrance had become difficult of access. Inside he still saw in the old apse remains of a mosaic showing Saints Simeon and Lawrence,<sup>8</sup> outside, at his time, the nave wall above the apse showed a painting and, flanking it, two round-headed windows, as in Fra Santi's woodcut. Mellini described the church as he saw it about 1600.<sup>9</sup> He noted four painted figures in the upper part of the façade,<sup>10</sup> just as Fra Santi shows them, and also the arms and inscription of Paul V.<sup>11</sup> The arms of Cardinal de' Medici which he noticed inside the entrance<sup>12</sup> were probably painted on the wall of the old apse.

## E. ANALYSIS

## 1. Foundations

In 1960, when the houses adjoining the south wall of the church were being demolished, a sounding was made to examine the foundations (pl. III). The brick facing of the nave side wall was found to continue to a depth of 4.40 m. below the level of the present nave pavement. Below that, the brick wall facing ceased, but trench-cast concrete foundations extended down 3.0 m. further. The section (fig. 35) indicates that the builders of the church dug their foundation trenches to a depth of 1.30 m. below the classical street level and that the latter was already buried 1.80 m. when the

<sup>1</sup> See above, fig. 100.  
<sup>2</sup> Rava, *ibid.*, p. 221, fig. 1.  
<sup>3</sup> See above, fig. 100-101.  
<sup>4</sup> While still under the Marcellian wall in 1588, Maggi's engraving (fig. 34) shows a wall with a window above the altar.  
<sup>5</sup> Ugolinis, *ibid.*, p. 222. For a similar engraving, see Ugolinis, *ibid.*, p. 221, fig. 1.  
<sup>6</sup> See above, fig. 100-101.  
<sup>7</sup> See above, fig. 100-101.  
<sup>8</sup> See above, fig. 100-101.  
<sup>9</sup> See above, fig. 100-101.  
<sup>10</sup> See above, fig. 100-101.  
<sup>11</sup> See above, fig. 100-101.  
<sup>12</sup> See above, fig. 100-101.



Fig. 36. Plan of the church building. Before the construction of the nave, the wall was used as a wall.

church was built. It appears that only one or two, accumulated during the same thousand years, possibly because the middle chamber of the wall indicated the extreme accumulation of debris. Finally, on top the ground level was suddenly raised by 1.25 m. (depth of ingested earth).

### 2. Superstructure

All the major walls surviving from the original church building are faced with brick (figs. 36, 37). The bricks are large and fairly uniform in thickness, but they are certainly spolia from more ancient buildings. Brick courses are horizontal and mortar beds are smoothly struck off with a trowel held at a slight angle, so that the face of each mortar bed coincides with the under edge of the brick course above it, but is

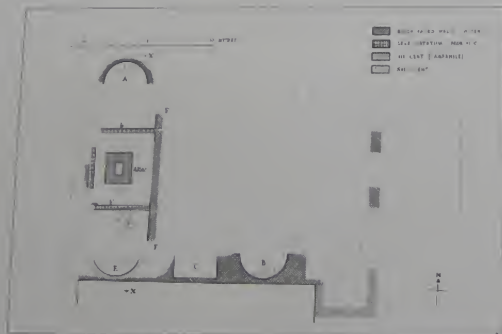


Fig. 37. Plan of the church building. Before the construction of the nave, the wall was used as a wall.

Fig. 38. Plan of the church building. Before the construction of the nave, the wall was used as a wall.

slightly recessed outside the upper edge of the mortar bed. Chert and very hard sandstone in the lower part of the wall are 100 and 150 cm. thick and consist of brickwork in courses 3, 4, 5 to 113 courses per Roman foot. These bricks are arranged in the original position and in some places will flank the main altar, presumably the position of the main altar.

### 3. The interior of the church

The original plan of the church is clear when four meters below the present floor level, in a basement found when the eighteenth century combs were cleared away in 1831. Here the south wall survives, as do two small side apses, one in the north wall of the church near the main altar

the other to the south corresponding to the third bay (fig. 11). Apses A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, J, K, L, M, N, O, P, Q, R, S, T, U, V, W, X, Y, Z. It is also visible above the nave floor, where it forms a cloister at the back of the third bay on the south side. The cloister is circular in plan, modelled with a half dome and obviously contained the upper half of the apse. The vertical apse wall rises 0.80 m. above the nave floor and terminates in a horizontal setback on which the vault rests; the setback may indicate that the full dome was formerly encrusted with mosaic. In the basement below, the structure of the apse can be examined in detail. It is built of brick, in courses 7 1/2 cm. high with the characteristics described above, except that these bricks are small, presumably small bricks were used to allow the curve of the wall to be made as smoothly as possible. At



Fig. 38. Interior of the church, showing the structure of the apse.

the base of the curved wall a few fragments of a plain marble pavement with the original floor level, 1.40 m. below the floor of the present nave. This level corresponds exactly with the base on the exterior face of the wall where the brick-laid construction meets the smooth-cast concrete of the foundations.

The northern sub-apse (fig. 36, A) corresponds with the northeastern part of the present church. Nothing exists above the present nave floor level, but the lower part of the apse system in the basement (fig. 37) resembles apse B in many respects (fig. 37). The masonry is of small bricks 100 to 125 cm. courses with the same style of mortar pointing as noted above. A few shales (fig. 38) occur on a floor level which is 1.00 m. below the mosaic floor and there are 0.10 m. higher than the pavement of apse B. The plaster decorations of apses A and B were similar, a plain background with a dado of conventionalized hanging ornaments. Above the hanging a few fragments of the



Fig. 37. SS. Quirico e Giuliano. Floor plan, present and hypothetical sections.



Fig. 38. SS. Quirico e Giuliano. Plan of eastern side of church, 1796.

and was decorated with a simple trellis pattern of fifteenth century character, perhaps from the time of Sixtus IV. The thinness of the wall is due to the encroachment of adjacent buildings. A similar rectangular exedra, corresponding with the fourth bay of the present nave, is better preserved. Externally it is enclosed in the fabric of the Romanesque campanile; internally it consists of a heavily plastered barrel vault standing at right angles to the nave wall and entered through a doorway in the fourth bay. A narrow passage bucked through the vault gives access to apse B (fig. 37).

The excavations of 1960 disclosed another apse on the south side of the church facing apse A (fig. 36, E). It is in line with the three southern chapels described above, but the interval between it and exedra C is notably wider than the intervals which separate the two rectangular exedrae from apse B. Thus the exedrae on the south side of the nave were divided into a symmetrical



Fig. 39. SS. Quirico e Giuliano. Apse A below present floor-level, north-south view.

upper paintings survive; apparently standing figures were depicted, but only the feet and the skirts of the robes remain. Apse B is flanked on either side, in correspondence with the second and fourth bays, by two other exedrae which differ from the first in that their plan is rectangular instead of semicircular (pl. III, fig. 36). The exedra which lies behind the second bay of the nave

C1 exists today only below floor level; most of the upper part was destroyed in the eighteenth century when the adjacent houses were built, but a small part of the original vault was seen when these houses were pulled down in 1960. It was a barrel vault, set at right angles to the axis of the church. The removal of the eighteenth century houses also disclosed, at floor level, the eastern side wall and part of the rear wall of the same exedra; the rear wall was only 0.30 m. thick

group of three, on one level, and a single apse set apart from the group on the other. Unlike apse E, it is cut off at ground level, but the lowest courses were identified through the building excavations of 1960. The internal surface wall seemed to be a comparatively recent structure for the brickwork of the rectangular external wall face; at a lower level was comparable with the early brickwork seen elsewhere in the church (figs. 37, 38). The presence of an exceptionally early side apse facing it in the north wall of the church leaves little doubt that the late masonry of E represents the rebuilding of an earlier feature of similar form. Apse E was still intact and was used as a baptistry in the eighteenth century, and it appears on a plan of the church discovered in the church archives by Rava (fig. 30).<sup>1</sup>

On the central axis of the nave, midway between apses A and E and about 1.80 m. below the present nave floor, remains have been found of what is almost certainly the original built base



Fig. 41. SS. Quirico e Giuliano. Base of altar, original church.



Fig. 42. SS. Quirico e Giuliano. Original remains, south side of church, below present floor level.

(fig. 41). It is a rectangular structure 2.37 by 2.06 m. in plan enclosing a rectangular cavity 0.52 by 0.50 m. Both exterior and interior faces are built in unusually fine brickwork; the 4-5 mm. courses are composed of carefully chosen bricks of large size, while the inclined pointing seems executed with special care. The reliefs which were found inside the cavity are presumably those which Cardinal de' Medici transferred to a new altar in 1704. The surviving part of the altar lay wholly beneath the level of the pavement which once surrounded it. The latter has disappeared, but its substructure is identifiable in a stratum of compact rubble.

The lowest courses of two longitudinal walls built in *opus listatum* (figs. 36, b, b', 38, 42) stand at short distances north and south from the altar base. The southern one (b') is constructed neatly on its south face but the north side is left rough, suggesting that it formed the south edge of the bema a-a' (fig. 38). Some fragments of *opus sectile* (figs. 36, c, 42), which touch the south face of wall b' lie at the same level as the flagstones d (fig. 38) in the north side apse A, indicating the level of the floor to the north and south of the central bema. This floor, it will be remembered, is 0.40 m. higher than the floor found in side apse B.

To the west of the altar base, an *opus listatum* cross wall of poor quality (fig. 36) is probably the foundation of a step leading up to a higher part of the bema, presumably in the former apse. A

<sup>1</sup> RAVA, *op. cit.*, fig. 31.

brick wall (lines C-D) on the rear in fig. 42, also by the apex corbel. The upper wall (line D-E) is covered by the masonry of wall raised by Fra Sisto (engraving 176, 41) and by earlier masonry.<sup>1</sup>

In the part of the nave facing brick wall (figs. 36, F-F, 38) crosses the nave from north to south corresponding with the window interval which occurs between exterior F and C. The brickwork has the same characteristics as the external walls. No surviving part of wall F rises above the floor level, which is indicated by the pavement in apex A and the fragments of *opus sectile*. Moreover, made the false recessed of the nave wall is, but against F, the two highest surviving courses (over wall A, while confirming that wall F did not stand above the original pavement). Hence it can be interpreted as a substitute of an underfloor span wall.

#### 4. The south wall

The first section, two semi-circular and two rectangular (pl. III), which open from the south side of the nave, are bounded externally by a straight wall which, despite the encroachments of adjacent buildings, is still recessed near its base by a few courses of the original brick facing. The *opus sectile* in the western part of the church are not down to the present ground level, but the eastern part is, many of the niches; the easternmost is more than half buried in the structure of the Renaissance campanile.

Where the neo-system niches have been cut down and the concrete core of the nave wall is exposed as elevation, the outline of the former arched opening to each niche is distinguishable; the back of masonry of the wall core is replaced by the brick or rubble filling wall which closes the niche openings. The apex of the westernmost niche is nearly half a meter higher than the other masonry (pl. III).

The southern front side of the floor terminates at its summit in a sloping lean-to roof which bridges the gap between the vertical wall at the rear of the niches and the vertical wall of the nave proper (pl. III; fig. 42). This concrete roof is distinct in the eastern half of the church, and its core is clearly seen in the western part, the place where the roof of the niches joins the upper nave wall (line D) a horizontal line extending from one end of the nave to the other. Above this line the brickwork of the nave wall has the same character as noted elsewhere.

The Early Christian brickwork rises some six meters above the summit of the lateral niches. It is punctuated by three large windows, one window standing above each of the three niches in the eastern part of the nave (pl. III; fig. 37). The windows are two meters wide and four meters from wall to apex; they are capped by nearly turned semi-circular arches of radially set sesquipedales, which set back a few centimeters from the brickwork (enriched by a horizontal line (figs. 37, 41). Still higher, and set considerably behind the brick wall face, the upper portion of the eighteenth century nave wall appears; in fact, the eighteenth century masonry does not rest on the earlier walls but is built up inside them, and holds the buttresses of the attic story, which was added in 1750, rest upon the ancient wall. The ancient wall formerly terminated in a late medieval corner of marble corbel stones and sawtooth brickwork, probably added when the campanile was built, but this feature was removed to make way for the eighteenth century windows. It remains in only one place on the south side of the nave, where it was employed in the wall of an adjacent house.

Whereby three large windows in the south wall of the nave correspond with the group of three asymmetrically arranged side niches below them, the wall above the fourth niche, near the south-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also the brick wall (line D-E) in fig. 42.

west corner of the church is provided by a much smaller window, 2.00 m. by 1.00 m. set in a considerably lower level (pl. III, fig. 43). Nevertheless, its brick arch is finished with the larger ones and the brickwork of the wall face extends uninterruptedly from the horizontal line of the small window to the flank of the larger one. Hence the smaller window must be part of the original design of the church. Above the apex of the small arch the usual brickwork of the church walls is absent and a wall of tufa blocks (*opus amulense*) takes its place.

The brickwork ceases in an irregular horizontal line over the window arch and is broken off jaggedly for a few courses to the right, as it rises to enclose the larger windows, but at a point about 1.40 m. below the level of the former medieval cornice, this jagged edge carries way to a vertical joint. In the narrow fascia which exists between the vertical axis of brickwork and the adjacent masonry remains the edge of a plaster revêtement has survived. Thus the vertical fissure marks what was formerly an external angle between the south and west facades of the church; it also appears that the west facade was coated with plaster. Obviously this part of the west facade did not extend below the point where the vertical fissure ceases, because at that level the brickwork of the south facade continues further west. Thus the west facade stood in two planes. For most of its height it presumably coincided with the west wall of the present church, but near the top the facade was set back some six meters behind the lower part. The upper plane corresponds with the cross wall F-F, raised close to the ancient altar, beneath the level of the original pavement (fig. 38). Hence wall F-F marks the position of an arch or an arcade which spanned the nave from north to south and supported the upper part of the west facade.

#### 5. The north wall

Like the south wall, the north wall of the church is mainly hidden by adjacent buildings, but the upper part of the northeast cor-



Fig. 33. Quattrocento window south wall and neo-system masonry.



Fig. 34. The Quattrocento Campanile. The eastern part of nave (right) and choir, and Gothic choir (left).



Fig. 35. The Quattrocento Campanile. Reconstructed northeast corner of wall. Renaissance Quattrocento north wall and remains of wall.

two openings above (compare fig. 43) and supplies some valuable data. Below the Romanesque cornice, which is at least some part of the south wall, six courses of Romanesque brickwork appear.<sup>1</sup> Research thus, the Early Christian brickwork is distinguishable by its rather larger bricks and by the absence of the mortar, which has perished (hence in fig. 45, the sunlight accentuates the bonding more strongly). The vertical arms of the masonry proves that this is the original western corner. The east wall contains traces of two openings: a narrow one with a pointed arch which seems to be intrusive and, to the left, part of an archivol which may or may not be original. The wall which hides the rest of the archivol is the north side of the present presbytery.

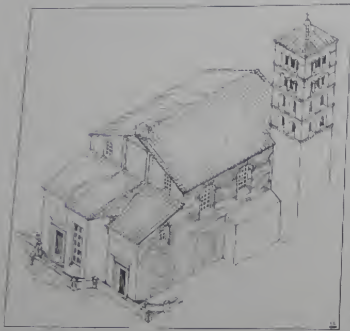


FIG. 46. S. GIULIO TONDA. Hypothetical reconstruction of church at the sixteenth century, based on known details of south wall (fig. 39) of west facade (p. 128).

#### F. RECONSTRUCTION

Combining the data set out in the foregoing analysis with the historical evidence, it is not difficult to reconstruct the main outlines of the church as it must have been at the end of the sixteenth century (fig. 46). Far from being fanciful, Fra Santi's woodcut is an accurate record of the church as it was in his time (fig. 34). We only have to make allowance for the fact that he saw the church from an elevated position, the ground artificially raised by Pius V<sup>2</sup> and

was thus compelled to make the upper part of the façade slightly over-dominant. In other respects the elevation can be interpreted in perfect harmony with the data from other sources.

As Light's model, the main entrance to the church had once been at the east end of the nave. At his time it had been supplemented by doorways disposed on either side of the apse (fig. 34). They were later led into small vestibules north and south of the altar, and thence into the main part of the nave through an arch which spanned the whole church and supported the upper part of the west façade. Fra Santi's picture shows small windows in the spandrels of the cross arch and a panelled panel occupying the central part of the gable.<sup>3</sup> The panel may possibly have been one of the *impressamenta* made by Cardinal Alessandro de' Medici in 1584. The paintings were

not confined to the central panel but extended over the whole gable end. We have also suggested that Fra Santi shows a polygonal apse with three flat exterior walls. Except for the sixteenth-century example at S. Giovanni a Porta Latina<sup>4</sup> the three-sided apse is otherwise unknown in Rome, and its appearance at SS. Quirico and Giulitta is an indication of date. The large oblong window seen by Fra Santi probably dates either from the rebuilding of Sixtus IV or more likely from that undertaken by Alessandro Medici. It may well have replaced a round-headed window of equally large size and thus reminiscent of the windows in the apse of S. Giovanni a Porta Latina.<sup>5</sup> The parapet wall in the foreground of Fra Santi's woodcut was possibly built to protect the pit in which the church stood after the land around it had been raised.

The original church must have been very much as Fra Santi drew it, except for the Romanesque campanile and the entrance beside the apse. The original entrance, at the east end of the nave, led into a rectangular hall with three niches in each side wall and large windows above them. Presumably other windows opened in the east wall above the entrance. The gable wall at the west end of the nave was supported on an arch or perhaps an arcade which spanned the church from north to south; behind it lay the bema, high altar and main apse, all rooled at a lower level than the nave. The gable wall probably had a central window flanked by round-headed windows with pierced *impressae*. Apsed side chapels opened to right and left of the high altar, and were rooled at the same level as the bema. Their apses faced north and south, like those flanking the nave, but it is clear from their different spacing and floor level that they were originally part of the choir or sanctuary. The floor of the two side chapels in the chancel was 20 m. higher than that of the nave, as shown by the pavement of apse B (fig. 39) and there must have been steps, presumably located close to the cross arch. The floor of the bema was at least one step higher, and it was separated from the side chapels by chancel rails which stood on the foundation walls (see figs. 36, 38, 42). The apse floor seems to have been higher still. We know of the apse only that Fra Santi shows it as three-sided and that it was decorated internally with mosaic pictures of Saints Lawrence and Stephen.<sup>6</sup> It will be noted that the arrangement of the apses gives the chancel a trefoil plan.

While the nave was lit by the six large windows in its side walls and other windows in the gable walls, the chancel seems to have been gloomy in contrast. We do not know what windows there may have been in the apse and the west walls, but the illumination entering through the small windows above the side chapel apse heads could never have been bright. It seems probable that the architect's intention was to build a tall nave, spacious and brightly lit, contrasting with a low-rooled chancel which was relatively dark and withdrawn behind the cross arch.

#### G. CHRONOLOGY

The very large windows and accurate quality of the brickwork make it impossible to date the original church later than the sixth century, indeed, taken alone, these features would suggest the fifth. However, the chapels on each side of the altar, serving possibly as *prothesis* and *diakonikon*, the three-sided apse wall and the trefoil plan of the chancel are all indications of Byzantine influence. Indeed, the masonry technique, the large windows and the threesided apse plan had

<sup>1</sup> The Romanesque brickwork characterizes the basilical paintings in the refectory.

<sup>2</sup> The inscription on the wall of the west facade, a round window in part of the gabled panel, and the Mappia map of 1602. Peruzzi also drew the church and refectory in 1589, in 1600, 1611 and 1612. See Squarone, *Le Basiliche di Roma*, vol. 1, p. 127; also those flanking the entrance to the church.

<sup>3</sup> See above, Vol. I, pp. 106, 112, 113.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. p. 106.

<sup>5</sup> Quinson, *Statues*, as quoted above, p. 41, note 1.

And construction in the style of CS. Governoria Porta Latina is similar, dating from the fifth part of possibly the middle of the sixth century. The same technique of placing the mosaic with an enclosing grid seems to appear in Roman buildings of about that period (for instance in the second century of CS. Mausoleum of Galla Placidia in Ravenna). All these features had support in the fragments contained in the last inscription which reported that the altar was consecrated by Pope Vigilius in the sixth century. The original building of SS. Quirino e Giuliana is therefore assigned to the first half of the sixth century.

## II. HISTORICAL POSITION

SS. Quirino e Giuliana is one of the rare buildings erected in Rome in the sixth century. Its plan appears to have brought some provided with lateral niches, a type customary in Roman and Italian architecture in tombs found in the Near East. Such a fusion of Roman and Near Eastern elements would be expected at the time the church was apparently founded, that is, during the first decade of the Byzantine occupation of Rome. Indeed, while the tribble type appears to be known to Palestine and Egypt (Martyr Sabos mid-fourth century?; Deir-el-Abiad and Deir-el-Adhmal of Sinai, fifth century?; Bethlehem, Church of the Nativity, which we date late sixth century?; St. John Baptist, Greece in the course of the sixth century; Didyma, Paramythia<sup>5</sup> and perhaps other Constantinianae, where the Church of the Blachernae appears to have been remodeled with a tribble mosaic or sarcophagi under Justinian II, as indicated by two epigrams formerly in the front and sides of the building<sup>6</sup>).

<sup>5</sup> M. G. S. P. 1907, pp. 1-2; *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, LXXII, 1952, pp. 1-2; *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, LXXII, 1952, pp. 1-2.

<sup>6</sup> *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, LXXII, 1952, pp. 1-2.

<sup>7</sup> *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, LXXII, 1952, pp. 1-2.

<sup>8</sup> *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, LXXII, 1952, pp. 1-2.

<sup>9</sup> *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, LXXII, 1952, pp. 1-2.

## S. SABA

(R. Krauthamer, S. Cassini)

### A. BIBLIOGRAPHY

- CASARETO, *Diocese di S. Maria in Cosmedin*. Rome, 1755, p. 270.  
 FORCELLI, *Terzoli*, XII, 1836, p. 131 ff.  
 CASAZZARO, "L'antica chiesa di S. Saba sull'Avventino". *Atti del II Congresso Internazionale di Archeologia* (Ortuno, Rome, 1909), p. 231 ff.  
 MARCONI, "Scoperte nell'antica chiesa di S. Saba". *N.B.I.C.* 6 (1909), p. 173 ff.  
 CASAZZARO and GAVINI, "Nuove scoperte nella chiesa di S. Saba". *N.B.I.C.* 1902, pp. 270 ff.; 1903, pp. 270 ff.; 1904, p. 274 ff.; 1905, III, p. 270 ff.; 1906, V, p. 274 ff.; 1907, III, p. 270 ff.  
 WUNDERLICH, "Der römisch-bischofliche Wandmalereien in S. Saba". *R.Q. Schr.* 17 (1903), p. 74 ff.  
 CASAZZARO, "L'oratorio primitivo di S. Saba". *Atti del VII Congresso Internazionale di Scienze Storiche* (1904), VII, Roma, 1905, p. 125 ff.  
 WILPERT, "Le pitture dell'oratorio di S. Saba". *Mon. Es. Franc.* 26 (1906), p. 15 ff.  
 KEMP, *Il. Pitt.*, I, 1906, p. 148.  
 BACCI, "De alcune iscrizioni sepolcrali nell'oratorio detto di S. Saba". *N.B.I.C.* 14 (1907), p. 13 ff.  
 BACCI, "Altre iscrizioni sepolcrali convenute di S. Saba". *ibid.*, p. 113 ff.  
 MARCONI, *Basilique*, III, 1909, p. 178 ff.  
 BACCI, "Studio sopra la chiesa avventina di S. Saba". *R.Q. Schr.* 14 (1900), p. 155 ff.  
 GAVINI, "I lavori di S. Saba". *Annuario dell'Archivaria Apostolica*, 1901, *Architettura* (1900-1901), Roma, 1912, p. 17 ff.  
 STYGER, "Die Maleiken des Hl. Sabas und dem Kolumen Avventin in Rom". *R.Q. Schr.* 16 (1901), p. 45 ff.  
 GAVINI, "Per la storia della chiesa di S. Saba". *Roma* 1 (1916), p. 470 ff.  
 HUBER, *Chiese*, 1925, p. 429 ff.  
 ANTONELLI, "I primi monasteri di monaci orientali". *R.A.C.* 5 (1928), p. 106 ff.  
 LEFQOUCY, "Notes sur l'église de St. Saba". *R.A.C.* 6 (1929), p. 339 ff.  
 ARPELLINI-CACCIOLINI, *Chiese*, 1934, pp. 722 ff., 1436 ff.  
 HERMASIN, "Di alcune pitture medioevali romane sconosciute". *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia d'Italia*, set. VII, 1 (1933), p. 299 ff.  
 FERRARI, *Monasteri*, 1935, p. 281 ff.  
 TISTINI, *San Saba. Le Chiese di Roma Illustrate*, 68 (Rome, 1936) with extensive bibliography.

### B. ANCIENT DESCRIPTIONS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

### C. DATES

- ca. 575 The sixth century biography of Pope Gregory the Great records a tradition, otherwise unattested, that Silvia, Gregory's mother, lived in a hermitage near the Porta S. Paolo, on the site occupied at the time of his writing by an oratory named after her and by the monastery of S. Saba. "Iuxta quae dicitur Cella sua, quae hactenus veterum nominis sui detestatum est, et sanctorum sancti Sabae confessoris Christi nomen habet." JOHN THE DEACON, *Vita Gregorii*, I. 11. Migne, *P.L.*, 75, col. 66; FERRARI, *Monasteri*, p. 281.

<sup>1</sup> R. Krauthamer, *Scienze Storiche*.

<sup>2</sup> With the exception of the last two inscriptions, the bibliography included in parentheses which point out the discovery of the last Christian building.

<sup>3</sup> Note the Latin Christian origins and I.J.B. with well known word forms. The appropriate medieval descriptive material given in the literary sources is here.

late VI or  
early VII  
century

An unbroken Latin inscription, some in Greek, which in Latin, all remaining coincident with Greek names, were found in the process of being obliterated by the floor of the central ground under the baptistery. *Rivista*, 99, 1907, pp. 17 ff., 214 ff. The inscription partly on one panel and then on another ledgely partly obliterated in the center of the group also, has been attributed to the same date as the inscription on the left side of the north transept, but the latter inscription includes the name of Justinian.

649 Johannes of S. Sabina near Justinian "abba presbyter" possibly Justinian's uncle Sabina's connection in some part of *Notitia Aegypti. De vestra sanctificatione*,<sup>1</sup> and their other pieces of Greek monastic tales. All four long inscribed in Rome in some previous building in the Romanesque style. *Perugia*, 1914, pp. 100-101. FERRARI, *Monasteria*, p. 281.

678 The sixth-century church in Constantinople is attended by "Crispina et Stephanus presbyteri et monachi monasterii sancti agapetiani in urbe." *Perugia*, 1914, pp. 100-101. FERRARI, *Monasteria*, p. 127, quoting MASSI, *Concistoria*, XI, vol. 231.

prior to 688 Innocent, abbot of S. Sabina (688) relates that Gregory of Agrippino came to Rome and "consecravit abbas plebanam ipsius monasterii sancti Sabae." (Mansi, *P.G.*, vol. 90, 101, FERRARI, *Monasteria*, p. 281.)

768 The anti-pope Constantine, captured in the summer of 569, is held "in monasterio Callianensi" — perhaps a reference to S. Sabina (see above, fig. 13, 1, p. 411). FERRARI, *Monasteria*, p. 261.

ca. 772 Pope Hadrian I sends Paulus "abbebatem monasterii sancti Sabae" as an envoy to Desiderius, king of the Lombards. *L.P.*, I, p. 401. FERRARI, *Monasteria*, p. 280.

785-787 Pope Hadrian I sends Petrus "religiosum abbatem venerabilis monasterii sancti Sabae qui appellatur Saba Sabae" as his legate to Constantine VI and Irene. *L.P.*, I, p. 401. FERRARI, *Monasteria*, p. 281; in "de Pontis" article the seventh council of Nicaea. *Mansi*, *Concistoria*, XII, partim, and XIII, partim, esp. vol. 12. FERRARI, *Monasteria*, p. 282.

795-816 Pope Leo III gives to the "venerabili monasterio Sancti Sabae" altar vessels "et balsamum argentum cum ceteris rebus." *L.P.*, II, p. 3, and in 806, a silver crown of considerable weight. *L.P.*, II, p. 84. FERRARI, *Monasteria*, p. 281.

827-844 Pope Gregory IV gives a textile to "monasterio sancti Sabae." *L.P.*, II, p. 79. FERRARI, *Monasteria*, p. 281.

ca. 875 John de Deaconis in his *Vita Gregorii*, links Papp Gregorius the Great's mother Silvia in the oratory, which he then bore her name in the monastery of S. Sabina (see above, fig. ca. 17).

955 Reference is made to a vessel belonging to "monasterio S. Sabae qui appellatur Saba Sabae." FERRARI, *Monasteria*, p. 282.

The church and monastery are mentioned in 1033 (see documents, catalogues and inventories). FERRARI, *Monasteria*, p. 282 f.

XI to XIV centuries late X century century 1145

Pope Lucius II assigns Petrus, a cleric, abbot with the responsibility of maintaining and repairing the monastery. *KLAR*, *R. Post.*, I, p. 119, no. 33.

1900-1901 The Associazione Artifica fra i Cultori di Architettura undertakes excavation and restoration of S. Sabina. The history of S. Sabina is found beneath the pavement of the present basilica. *CONFERENZA*, *loc. cit.*, 1900. CAMERIZZOLO and GAVINI, *loc. cit.*, 1901 and 1902, and later bibliography.

<sup>1</sup> Justinian's great-grandfather there to be Sabina Sabae, the wife of Pope Gregory the Great, and both of the family of the family of the monastery of S. Sabina. The latter name, however, is not original.

<sup>2</sup> In the letters with the "Saba Sabae" connection in the letters of Gregory the Great, the name of the S. Sabina monastery about the time this would be mentioned, this association, however, remains very doubtful. *APRILIO*, 99, p. 101.

D. GENERAL DESCRIPTION

The church of S. Sabina stands on a spur of the Aventine between the Baths of Calpurnia and the Orrian Gate. It was erected on a platform possibly an extension in the Roman fortifications, and is surrounded by a strong masonry wall, parts of which (figs. 40, 41) exist as high walls, large tufa blocks, presumably from the fortification. The entrance is through a horseshoe masonry covered gateway on the northwest side of the enclosure; an arched gate-way is called up, which at the southwest end of the forecourt (fig. 40, c).

The present church is a simple basilica, comprising a nave and two aisles, with another aisle added to the left (pl. IV—figs. 42, 43). The building extends obliquely from northwest to southeast, but for the sake of brevity we shall speak of the altar as at the east end. The nave terminates in an unusually tall and narrow apse, flanked by two smaller apses, one for each original aisle. The nave colonnades are composed of miscellaneous bays, shafts and capitals, supporting right brick arches on each side. A large clerestory window opens above each arch. At the west end of the nave a single doorway with a comatseque marble frame, dated 1105 by inscription, leads into the nave. Fraglar walls the narthex, originally supported on six columns with composite capitals (pl. IV) in the eighteenth century the columns were built and brick piers were substituted (fig. 48). A row of Romanesque windows in the upper story of the narthex was blocked up in the fifteenth century and replaced by openings with different spacing. The facade of the narthex is crowned by a fifteenth century loggia (fig. 47).

Judging by its brickwork, the campanile at the west end of the north side must be almost contemporary with the main fabric of the basilica. The tower, in the west portion of its south wall, incorporates elements of an older building into its lower stories (fig. 49, left side), but the attachment of the east wall on the left archway of the nave arcade shows that it was invested after the nave arcade had been finished. On the other hand, from the level of the nave arcade upwards, the masonry of the campanile bonds with that of the clerestory and the thus appear to be contemporaneous (fig. 49, right side).

At the beginning of the present century, a number of sixteenth and seventeenth century additions were removed and the church was restored to its Romanesque form.<sup>1</sup> In the course of the



Fig. 46. S. Sabina. View from street level.



Fig. 47. S. Sabina. Sketch plan of present church (see text). Romanesque facade and (broken line) earlier.

<sup>1</sup> The work was executed by Constantino and Innocenzo Valentini, of passage reports were published, but passed unmentioned in the periodical in 1903, for the restoration.



representing the remains of the earlier structure, were discovered (below the western half of the present nave) a series of square-headed channels, 1.2 m. wide and 0.46 m. high (pl. IV, figs. 34, 35). Mouldings on the outside walls date from the seventh to the tenth centuries.<sup>1</sup> A century or two of apparently plastered brick work extends just below its floor (fig. 36).



The 4th-5th century brickwork remains of piers, walls and of oratory along the eastern transept.

passage of the transept and hall are still visible in the excavations beneath the basilica pavement. At the west end of the church, the basilica floor is 1.10 m. above that of the oratory, while the latter lies 0.25 m. above the floor level of the original hall.

### I. The hall

The west wall of the hall, still standing nearly ten meters high, is incorporated into the lower half of the west wall of the basilica (fig. 32). Two column bases, 1.90 m. below the pavement of the basilica, indicate the original floor level of the hall (figs. 51 a, b; 52 a, b). Its original northwest

<sup>1</sup> Mémoires de l'Institut de France, 1891, p. 104.  
<sup>2</sup> The same Roman description of the church (Bégin) is particularly interesting in connection with Cassin, and Mémoires de l'Institut de France, 1891, p. 104.

corner is still visible, though refaced with modern brickwork; above the triple arch are traces of three large windows (figs. 50, 51, 52). When the excavation of the hall was completed, the pavement of the basilica was replaced upon a concrete bridge; the ancient structures underneath are thus still accessible.<sup>2</sup>

### E. ANALYSIS

The walls of the basilica were stripped of plaster during the restoration and, although they are now replastered, photographs taken while the masonry was bare enable us to study the structure in some detail (figs. 49, 50). The lower



Fig. 39. S. Saite. West wall of present (left) Basilica (middle) and of oratory underneath.

and southwest corners and the adjoining structure of its side walls survive to the same height of roughly ten meters above the floor level of the basilica. For a length of about 2.5 m. they form the bottom parts of the end piers of the nave and, for almost 2 m. of this distance, the upper portion as well (figs. 49, 50). Below the basilica floor, the side walls of the hall continue for their entire original length up to the level of the basilica floor and support the four columns of the basilica colonnades (pl. IV, figs. 40, 41). These side walls, however, differ from one another in construction. Up to the level of the original floor, the north wall of the hall (pl. IV, fig. 40) is built entirely of brick; above that level it consists of *opus testaceum* that begins with regularly alternating courses of brick and tufa but soon turns to less consistent alternation, e.g., a band of three courses of *lapilli* above six courses of brick. Although the wall has not been excavated to its foundation, it can be established that the brickwork in the lower part continues down by at least one meter below the original floor level<sup>3</sup>. Horizontally coursed, with thick mortar beds, the brickwork of the north wall seems to date from the fourth century. The south wall, on the other hand, is based on rubble foundations only 0.55 m. below the hall floor level. Directly above the rubble, a single brick footing course projects a few centimeters from the general wall face; above this, alternating brick and tufa courses rise to the original floor level (fig. 50, left edge), and then the *opus testaceum* becomes irregular like that of the north wall. From the different characters of the lower part

<sup>3</sup> The part of the church in the lower passages which remains in the west end of the nave.

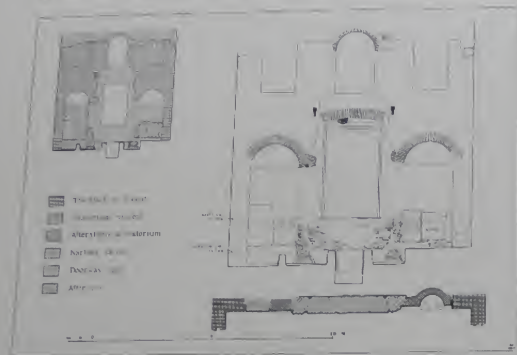


Fig. 43. S. Sakra. West wall of present church (with jagged wall later alterations) (after plan)



Fig. 44. S. Sakra. Original hall reconstruction for west and north facade

of the north and south walls, it is evident that on the north side the builders of the hall made use of the brick wall of an antecedent building.

The west wall — the main facade of the hall, still standing almost to its full original height contained six openings: three large windows in the upper part and a triple archway below (figs. 50, 51)<sup>1</sup>. The triple arch rested on short lengths of wall at each end and on a pair of columns in the middle. The central arch was 3 m., the flanking arches 2 m. in diameter. While the column shafts and capitals have disappeared, the bases have remained *in situ*. Likewise the hall floor no longer exists, but its level is shown by the two slabs of marble on which the column bases rest (figs. 53 a, b; 54 a, b). The arches of the triple entrance were

<sup>1</sup> The measurements of the present church are given in the text. It has appeared in suggesting that the upper part of the wall differed from the lower part. The measurements of the present church are given in the text.

erected on the remains of the wall of the present church.

- A. Southern corner of the hall.
- B. Base of the south column of the triple archway. Remains of the wall of the present church.
- C. Foundation of the wall of the filling wall which closed the triple arch. Being hidden beneath the masonry floor, it was roughly built of reused brick courses.
- D. All that remains of the wall of the filling wall above the former floor level, after being with plastered plaster revetment. Underneath, the roughly built foundation courses which are the remains of the wall of the present church.
- E. An area of roughly built brickwork which seems to be modern.

(Note: Walls C and D must have encircled the column base and it was revealed during Cammermeyer's excavations.)

- F. Access passage for the floor at the southwest corner of the masonry.
- G. End wall of the south row of arches which occupied the floor-ground until they were removed during the excavation. The entrances to these arches were on the south side of the central passage (see plate IV). The lower arches still exist.

- H. Filling wall of the second period, succeeding wall D. It is all of brick with thick mortar joints and is coated with red painted plaster which bears the decoration of 7 robed figures.

- J. Foundations of the west doorway to the basilica (A.D. 1230). At the bottom they are level with the former masonry floor.

- K. Doorway of A.D. 1230.

- L. Concrete roughly packed into the space which was left when the column shaft was removed. It is clearly later than either H or J. Its irregular face suggests that it was put in while the basilica pavement was in existence. On the west side, L is nearly faced.

- M. Doorway run through H and subsequently blocked up.

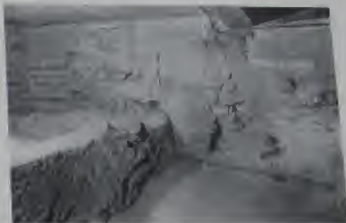


Fig. 50. S. Sakra. South part of present wall (after plan)

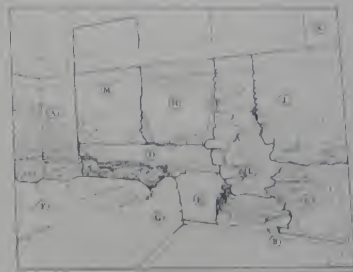


Fig. 51. S. Sakra. South part of present wall (after plan)

The two dotted lines indicate the position of the present wall. The dotted line cuts from which runs through the triple archway. The dotted line shows down into the masonry floor level.





FIG. 16. S. Sofia, Apse. Oratory (detail). (See p. 104.)

the proportions of the apse. The oratory occupies seventeen-fifths of the total width of the hall, this seems too small a ratio for a single-apsed church building and too large for a church with aisles. Hence it seems more likely to us that the apse was a feature of the original hall and was probably secular in origin.

## 2. The oratory

### STRUCTURE

When the hall was transformed into the building that we call the oratory, its floor level was raised 0.80 to 0.70 m. Below this new level a cemetery was laid out of a type unknown elsewhere in Rome. Over the entire area of the hall the ground was excavated to a depth of 1.00 m.; in this sunken space *loculi* were placed on either side of an axial passage, 0.70 m. wide and 1.70 m. high, which ran from east to west the full length of the building (pl. IV; figs. 56, 57, 58). The passage walls, built in rough brickwork, are interrupted at intervals of less than one meter by the openings of the *loculi*.

These *loculi*, arranged in two and occasionally three rows, lie at right angles to the passage, with their openings at the end, like compartments of a honeycomb. Each *loculus* is 2 m. long and about 75 cm. wide. The roofs of the upper layer are made of large tiles, pitched against one another in a *subsecans*; the horizontal tile floor of this layer forms the roof of the layer below. The end of each *loculus* is closed by a vertical tile, sealed into position with mortar. Some closing tiles bear inscriptions painted in red in Greek and Latin, while on others inscriptions are roughly scratched off the sealing mortar: e. g., — HIC RQ IOHAN. C. 2) and — HIC RQ GRATIAC. ANO. 2) 3). Six short passages resembling the long central passage lie at right angles to the sides of the oratory and serve similar *loculi* (pl. IV); in all, there are more than 120 graves. The spaces between the pitched roofs of the upper *loculi* are filled with rubble, and the marble slabs of the oratory floor were laid above them thus sealing off the cemetery. Portions of the pavement survive at the two eastern corners of the oratory (figs. 57, 58), and smaller fragments near the northwest corner (fig. 54 a, b, at G). The floor, 60 to 70 cm. higher than that of the hall, sloped up slightly from west to east.

Another structural modification made to the hall during conversion into the oratory was the sealing or partial sealing of the openings in the west wall. In the upper story, two of the windows are blocked with *opae lobatae*, very similar in appearance to the masonry of the original hall (figs. 56, 57). The blocking of the middle window has been removed, but its former existence is proved by a later round-headed window which partly overlapped the opening. The original central opening must have still been blocked up when this window was made. In the lower story, walls were built across the three openings of the triple arch, at least to a height which would contain

150—151. See also pl. VI and figs. 59, 60.

the *infra* structure of the oratory. Part and the greater base of the arches of these first filling walls survive in the western part near the oratory floor, while higher up they have been replaced by later walls; the early filling walls now stand only a few centimeters above the oratory floor level (figs. 54 a, b; 54 a, b), but traces of their pointed decoration prove that they were formerly higher. On the side walls and in the apse, similar decoration rises 0.90 m. above floor level; we assume that the early filling walls of the triple arch were at least as high.

For reasons unknown, the first filling walls of the lower story were subsequently replaced by other walls, set slightly west of the former wall face (figs. 53 a, b; 54 a, b, at C, D, H-I). The bricks of the early walls on both sides of the central archway are set in a hard, fine-textured lime mortar that is mixed with finely ground *pozzolane*; the lime when it is freshly broken, is pure white. The mortar used in the second period has much the same texture, but the color of the lime is a pinkish grey, is unmistakably different. The filling wall of the second period contained a niche, 1.00 m. wide, in the northern opening of the triple arch. The back of the niche bulged out from the wall face on the west side, the extrusion, still visible in 1908 (fig. 60), has now been cut away. On the east face the slightly projecting base of the niche (by 0.31 m. above the floor of the oratory, and the concrete profile shows that the protuberance was originally enclosed in some sort of curb. Above the level of the present basilica floor, the second-period filling wall of the northern arch has been replaced by an even later wall (in fig. 50 it is supported on a wooden post). In



FIG. 18. S. Sofia (detail) in connection with fig. 16.



FIG. 17. S. Sofia, Southwest corner of oratory. Detail of the wall face. (See p. 104.)



FIG. 18. S. Sofia, Southwest corner of oratory and third period structure of apse.

The doorway itself has several peculiarities which are observed in the wall openings. Directly in front where the oratory was situated there is a doorway which is 100 cent. high and 120 cent. wide and subsequently sealed up again. The masonry which fills the base of the wall above the arch has the same character and this suggests that the arch was built and was immediately finished. As this is not the habit, and this suggests that the arch was built and was immediately finished.



FIG. 25. A. N. S. Nino. Left-hand shoulder of doorway of masonry which was subsequently sealed up.



FIG. 26. A. N. S. Nino. Black marble panel of doorway of masonry which was subsequently sealed up. The panel has a decorative border.

some that the fragmentary remains are all of one period, it follows that there was a time when the apse was frescoed dark red while the nave of the oratory was still created with the plain plaster of the hall. But the frescoed draperies in the apse and nave are not necessarily contemporaneous since those of the apse may have been copied from the nave. While these painted hang-

<sup>1</sup> See page 10.  
<sup>2</sup> See page 10, fig. 1.  
<sup>3</sup> See page 10, fig. 1.

#### B. DECORATION

The oratory walls still show traces of frescoes (figs. 53a, 53b, 53c, 53d).

The lower zone bore representations of hanging draperies. Above these, in rectangular fields, were Biblical figures, saints, and other figures. The frescoes have been discussed amply by Wilpert and Noyes<sup>2</sup>, who agree in assigning the earlier paintings to the beginning of the eighth century and the later to the end of the tenth. In the nave the<sup>3</sup> hangings<sup>4</sup> are frescoed immediately on top of the plain plaster of the original wall. In the apse they are painted over a coat of dark red painted plaster which, at the north shoulder of the apse, is seen to overlap the original white plaster covering of the hall (figs. 57, 58). If we as-

sume the frescoed in the north, south and west ends of the apse and also in the apse on the east side of the oratory, the east wall of the apse (fig. 58) must be the earliest part of the building which still remains. However, the east wall of the apse is not necessarily the earliest part of the building. It is possible that the east wall of the apse was built and was immediately finished. As this is not the habit, and this suggests that the arch was built and was immediately finished.

Some traces of paintings on the surrounding plain walls of the oratory walls have attracted escaped attention or have been thought unworthy of notice. They are still clearly distinguishable although much less so than when first discovered and even so appearing like the dark lines of a row of figures (figs. 53, 54, 55, 56, 57).

As noted above, the walls of the oratory were painted with slabs of white marble panels covering the corners and spanning the narrow between the bays. In the apse (fig. 26) several panels



FIG. 27. A. N. S. Nino. Fragment of doorway of masonry which was subsequently sealed up. The fragment has a decorative border.

of *opus alexandrinum*<sup>5</sup>. They are located near the level of the pavement or still given by the base of the wall plaster, one top of the wall about the north door (fig. 26). The top consisted with a channel screen whose base is still visible over the wall with circular marble panels—possibly niches. The screen stood forward and from the top shoulder. Numerous fragments of early medieval carved marble transoms were recovered from the building in the course of the excavations, but not all of them belonged to the oratory. The channel screen wall only 1.5 m. high and must have had at least one opening, therefore, it must have consisted at least of four transoms panels and two small panels in the perspective or either end. On the other hand, the fragments of early medieval sculpture found in the building and not extracted during the excavation (fig. 6) belong to at least seven different panels<sup>6</sup> and thus may have come from other churches. Indeed, we may imagine readily enough Rome at the scene of a bank made in paving slabs from the early medieval channel screen which were then being replaced by new masonry in the Romanesque style.<sup>7</sup> However, one important piece of early medieval sculpture now lying in the church parvis (figs. 61, right edge) must have belonged originally to the oratory; an cumbersome shape renders it useless as a paving slab and its great weight suggests that it would

<sup>5</sup> See page 10, fig. 1.  
<sup>6</sup> See page 10, fig. 1.  
<sup>7</sup> See page 10, fig. 1.

removed not from its intended position. It is a fragment of a block of white marble, 54.5 cm. in long. The socket for the figure is 10 cm. of the square opening in the marble, 10 cm. from the preserved end of the fragment and thus the socket must have been in the middle; the opposite was presumably 45 cm. in wide. Its decoration shows a debased version of egg and claw moulding at the base, followed by bead and reel and, at the top, a row of shifting crockets. The



FIG. 64. S. Saka, 1931, marble. The 10-cm. depth, measured at the apex of marble.

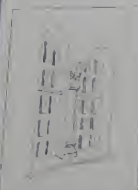


FIG. 65. S. Saka, Restoration of apex of marble.

head and feet terminate at a point which probably coincided with a vertical moulding on the marble block post. A slight ridge on the soffit indicates the breadth of the door post. Since the lintel is too wide for a doorway leading into the side chapel<sup>12</sup>, the most plausible location for it is the main doorway of the oratory, the traces of which have been obliterated by the present cossmatesque portal<sup>13</sup>.

Another object from the ruins of the oratory is a heavy pier of white marble (fig. 63), 1.28 m. high and 0.53 by 0.25 m. in plan, carved on its narrow sides only with the traditional decoration of a column: torus, apophyte, shaft and astragal. A single leaf surmounted by abacus mouldings represents the capital. The broad sides of the pier are undecorated and are

finished with concave moulding from the columnar faces. Both of the broad sides show a faint vertical ridge and a hole while the top of the capital contains an oblong socket 0.07 m. deep and 0.22 m. by 0.27 m. in plan. The pier was discovered lying in or near the apse, and Caumont thought that it was part of a classical screen. From its large scale and coarse tooling, we think it was more likely the mullion of a two-light window, and we infer from its location in the ruin that it was at the center of the apse. The socket in the top would have held a dowel to secure an impost block while the holes and vertical ridges in the side faces may indicate the fixing of transoms (fig. 54). This reconstruction, however, is hypothetical in everything except the upper pier.

### 3. The side chapel

A doorway from the northeast corner of the oratory, roughly cut through the original north wall of the hall and subsequently blocked up again, led into a small chapel (pl. IV). The chapel still exists below the hall's floor and is accessible through a grating in the north aisle pavement. Part of the chapel's north wall (fig. 67). As originally belonged to a brick structure, probably of the fourth century, which stands parallel to the north wall of the oratory at a distance of 2.40 m. The rest of the north wall (fig. 67) B) consists of roughly built *tufo*; it also antedates the wall in its present form and originally composed the south flank of a kila. The floor of the chapel was

removed during Caumont's excavations, in order to expose Roman strata. But its level is indicated by the horizontal base of the plaster with which the chapel was decorated (C). As in the oratory, this plaster is painted with hanging draperies. One of the two transeams which divided the chapel into nave and chancel was an undecorated slab of polished marble, part of it (D) remains in situ, embedded in the side wall. Directly underneath the transeam, an oblong socket (E) seems to have housed the end of a chancel step, while east of it, a long horizontal slot (F) probably held the end of

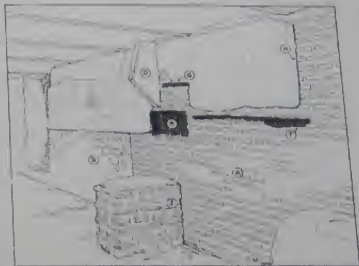


FIG. 67. S. Saka. North wall of chapel on left flank of oratory, raised four quadrants.

a marble shelf or bench standing against the back of the transeam. The east and west walls of the chapel have disappeared but the position of the east wall is shown by the vertical edge of the plaster decoration on the north wall (H). Presumably, this marks the shoulder of an apse; otherwise, the chancel would have been too small. A cross wall of *opus testaceum* (J) below the chapel floor may be an element surviving from the period of the early hall.

### 4. Other buildings adjacent to the oratory

An apse about three meters wide is embedded in the north end wall of the present narthex (pl. IV; fig. 48). It is sealed by a later cross wall, and almost everything behind this wall has been stripped away; indeed, the archivolts might be taken for a simple airway were it not for a third segment of the curved rear wall which survives in an opening beside the modern stairs that lead down to the excavations. This piece of curved brickwork forms part of a narrower masonry shell, but the divergent curvature of the ancient material shows that it formerly had about the same radius as the archivolts above. The apse floor level cannot be identified, but the base of the curved rear wall is about 0.80 m. below the oratory floor level; thus, either the chamber to which the apse belonged was lower than the oratory, or what we see today was only the figuration wall of the apse. The archivolts above is composed of brick 40 cm. long and set, though not true to radius, in smoothly slightly concave mortar beds. The apse shoulder is almost entirely missing, but such brickwork as remains shows a constant modulus of five in 0.29 m., with mortar beds 28 to 30 mm. thick.

South of the triple arch, which opened in the facade of the oratory (previously of the hall), the east side of the present narthex is faced with a rubble wall (fig. 65, right side). It is practically in date, as can be seen at the southwest corner, where the rubble overlaps the *opus testaceum* of the short end wall of the narthex (pl. IV). The rubble masonry, only 0.65 m. thick, conceals a shallow recess (fig. 66). Within it is an older wall set back 0.30 m. behind the plane of the oratory hall

Fig. 50. In the present (seventeenth century) basilica, this oblong wall continues the east wall of the south aisle. The wall is made of brick with an occasional course of *trifido* and covered with painted plaster. The small pinnacles (Fig. 50) to be seen include about one third of a semi-circular window spanned by two arches of masonry on 20 cm bricks. The window window sill still exists, and the wall below it is decorated with a frescoed frieze of multicolored palmettes. In the zone above the window, the wall decoration represents ashlar masonry, confined in white on a yellow ground.



Fig. 50. S. Sabina. Small portion of the wall with the two arches and the frieze, part of additional archive.

The window arch has the same diameter as the lateral arches of the triple arch and it springs at the same level; this suggests that the arches of the triple arch were at one time also transformed into windows<sup>1</sup>. Another arch, similar to the window arch which is now visible and in the same alignment, was observed inside the basilica at a time when the aisle end wall was bare of plaster<sup>2</sup>, the progress report mentions traces of a column which formerly supported the two arches<sup>3</sup>. If these traces were reported correctly, the windows were created by walling up an arcade. However, no photographs were taken and the question must remain unresolved until the aisle end wall can be examined again.

A cemetery exists beneath the floor of the south aisle of the basilica. It seems to be an extension of the burial place inside the oratory, although there was no direct communication between the two. The south cemetery is no longer accessible, but the published notes and plans<sup>4</sup> indicate the existence of two rows of loculi similar to those inside the oratory, some common-tomb graves, and eight raised classical sarcophagi. These latter are now exhibited in a museum north of the campanile. Near the middle of the south aisle, Cannizzato's excavation revealed an irregular pavement of heavy slabs of marble, tufa and travertine, irregularly shaped and joined; its purpose is unknown.

## 5. The basilica

The basilica later replaced the oratory. It is outside the scope of this work, and we discuss it only in the extent that it relates to the older structures. The new floor level was set 1.40 m. higher than that of the oratory, while the side walls of the oratory, except the west end of the north

<sup>1</sup> Busi, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Busi, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-11.

<sup>3</sup> Cannizzato, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-11.

<sup>4</sup> Cannizzato and others, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-11.

wall, were cut down to serve as foundations for the first three columns on each side of the nave. Foundations for prolongation of the existing walls were added for the other columns. The oratory apse was cut and its remains concealed beneath the trabeated floor. The floor wall of the nave incorporates the greater part of the *basilica* (the *trifido*) of the original hall. The extraordinarily long end piers at the west end of the basilica (extending, measured 1/2 m. from the corners of the nave to the finish of the last arch, must be the result of the double arch to include in the fabric of the basilica as much as possible of the former building).

The north aisle of the basilica overlaps the adjacent chapel, and the Roman architects repaired it. The aisle is 7 m. wide and the south wall of an adjacent Romanesque chapel has been added to it by the removal of the dividing wall, thus creating an additional aisle<sup>5</sup>. The south aisle, 7 m. wide, is bounded to the west by the painted wall with semi-circular windows (read above, and to the south by a masonry wall from originally Romanesque, but extensively rebuilt in recent years.

## F. RECONSTRUCTION

We do not have enough material to attempt a reconstruction of the classical building on the site of S. Sabina nor is such an attempt within the scope of our work. We only note the presence of a long wall of *opus reticulatum* traversing the basilica from side to side, passing between the sixth and seventh columns of the nave<sup>6</sup>. Brick walls which appear to have the character of fourth-century construction stand parallel and at right angles to the reticulate wall in the area of the left hand aisle; one of these brick walls has been incorporated into the north wall of the chapel which adjoins the oratory to the north (fig. 61). This chapel wall also contains the wall of an ancient kiln.

### 1. The hall

The hall which followed these Roman buildings was lofty and spacious; it was entered at the western end through a triple archway. Three windows over the triple arch and a number of windows in the side walls (fig. 50) lit the interior. The room measured approximately 33 by 15 R. ft. internally, and its walls were 2 R. ft. thick. The window arches of the side walls sprang at a level 30 R. ft. above the floor; those of the west wall sprang from a slightly higher level, but the height of the building is unknown. The apse measured a little over 1 1/2 R. ft. in radius, and we suggest tentatively that it was part of the original construction of the hall. However, we do not preclude the possibility that it was added later.

### 2. The oratory

In the course of time the hall was modified to create the oratory. The triple arch was partly walled up, leaving a doorway in the middle and possibly lunette windows in the side arches (fig. 51). The three western windows were blocked, as were some of the openings in the side walls. The

<sup>5</sup> Busi, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-11.

<sup>6</sup> Busi, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-11.

those of the late period about 300 m., and a burial ground comprising about 100 Greek built tombs was situated beneath the pavement of marble slabs (pl. IX, figs. 36-37, 40). If this apse did not already exist it was built when the masonry came into being, its spot *absconditum* from view only slightly above the main part of the pavement and a channel (tramezza of unknown length) connected it with the body of the oratory. A two-light window (fig. 64) may have occupied the centre of the side wall.

In addition to the tomb beneath the oratory front, numerous graves were dug to the south, in the area where the south side of the basilica was subsequently built.<sup>1</sup> This part of the cemetery was bounded to the north by the wall of the oratory (there was no communicating doorway), and to the west by a wall with semicircular windows that stood nearly in line with the attached west wall of the oratory. Painted plaques adorned the west face of this wall, but we do not know whether this was the original or made later — in other words, whether the southern groups of graves was covered or not done. Some of the graves were arranged, like the *loculi* of the oratory, in rows on each side of a passage; others were individual burials in reared classical sarcophagi.

Two smaller buildings attached to the north side of the oratory were presumably linked to it in construction and were possibly contemporary in construction. The first was a narrow chapel, approached through a doorway in the north wall of the oratory. The chapel, 2.60 m. wide and about 3 m. long, terminated at the east end in what we assume was an apse; a tramezza separated the body of the chapel from the space in front of the apse which presumably contained an altar or a table for offerings (fig. 64). The second structure was an apse, 3.90 m. wide, which formed the north and bounded the area outside the central structure at a distance of 3 m. from the westwork corner of the oratory. We are not sure whether it is contemporary with or later than the oratory, but the base of the apse corresponds approximately with the oratory floor level and it would be reasonable to associate the two structures, presumably the apse belonged to a chapel which stood on the left side of the oratory entrance. The presence of an apsed chamber in this position is noteworthy, just to bring the Roman S. Saba into a large group of churches sharing this feature, they occur all over the Greek-speaking continents of the Eastern Mediterranean.

In a second phase of development, the walls which had staled up the lateral openings of the temple such as form the west wall of the oratory were cut down almost to the level of the oratory pavement and rebuilt a few centimeters west of this former alignment. A niche of 3.00 m. wide was made in the blocking masonry of the north arch. Since the reverse side of this niche bulged out from the west face of the wall (fig. 60), it seems that the south wall of the apsed chapel to the left of the oratory entrance stood farther north; the chapel plan would otherwise have been disfigured by the convexity.

### 3. The Basilica

We do not know who the oratory was dismantled to give place to the basilica, but some of its surviving walls appear to have been carefully preserved, even at the expense of giving the basilica an unusual plan; the exceptionally long end piers of the nave colonnades imply deliberate conservation. The basilica still exists and needs no further discussion. Apart from its end piers it was a single-aisled three-apsed basilica, 15.8 R. ft. long, 30 R. ft. in overall width, its nave 12 R. ft. wide and about 30 R. ft. high. At the east are three apses, integral with the rest of the structure. A columned narthex with chambers in an upper story shelters the western doorway

### G. CHRONOLOGY

The only evidence for the date of the original hall of the oratory goes (plater) to the *opus sectile* zone, which suggests a late period, possibly the late fourth or fifth century. We lack, however, any indication whether the hall originally was the initial exception hall of a wealthy home or a religious building, possibly the private oratory of a Christian house. Indeed, it is not originally secular, it may have served a Christian congregation for a time without being altered. However, there is no way either to prove or to disprove this hypothesis.

The first definite indication of religious use in the remodeling of the wall to create what we have called the oratory. The construction of *loculi* beneath the new floor of the oratory, the form of these *loculi*, and their distribution suggest that this remodeling was undertaken by a Greek-speaking monastic congregation which presumably came from the Holy Land before the middle of the seventh century or perhaps earlier. The end-portal *loculus* as a rule unknown in Rome<sup>2</sup> was a common form of burial in the vicinity of Jerusalem.<sup>3</sup> Customarily, the epitaphs on these *loculi*, some written in Greek and the majority giving Greek names and the deceased as living in Syria to an abbot — from the great Lavra of Saint Sabas near the Holy City in the desert,<sup>4</sup> — clearly suggest that by then the hall had been taken over and remodelled for worship and burial by monks from the Holy Land. They may have less direct descent either by the Monks' conquest in 530 m. perhaps by the earlier Persian occupation in 614. Indeed, if the inscription on the *loculi* would be dated so early from the turn of the seventh century,<sup>5</sup> the arrival of the first Sabaitic monks would antedate even the Persian domination, but in our opinion judgment should be suspended. In its regard the Sabaitic congregation, presumably by the middle of the seventh century, built the *loculi* to proceed into the hall, raised the floor level to those shown by these graves, blocked up some of the windows of the hall, closed the side openings of the high arch and engaged the central opening by a doorway. They also constructed a rectangular chapel to the north and presumably built the apsed chapel to the right of the entrance. All this work was presumably completed by the mid-seventh century. Later changes to the oratory, when the oratory was struck south and the western filling walls were reconstructed, seem to include harkback of perhaps ninth-century date, but not enough remains to allow certainty.

The present basilica dates obviously much later. The brick courses are laid horizontally; the wall faces are vertical; and the mortar beds are thick, giving rise to a height of 1.10 m. or a modulus of 1½ courses to the Roman foot. At frequent intervals, courses of rubble are introduced in place of brick. This kind of masonry is comparable with much that was built in Rome throughout the twelfth century. Close analogies are found at S. Giovanni a Porta Latina, which was consecrated in 1191, and in the church of S. Prisca, about 1200. The true nature of the masonry of S. Saba to the Church congregation in 1113 may well furnish the date for the construction of the church.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, the narthex and its upper story are datable to the middle of the twelfth century by the close analogy at S. Giovanni a Porta Latina.<sup>7</sup> Half a century later the building touches were put to the building by the insertion of the counterpane door frame, dated 1209.

<sup>1</sup> Ruggieri, *op. cit.*, p. 12, n. 2, 1970; for the discovery of many graves, see also Ruggieri, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-13, 14.

<sup>2</sup> Mignone, "The Roman 'loculi' in Wall Tombs," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 1933, p. 112, fig. 10, pl. II, 11.

<sup>3</sup> See also *op. cit.*, p. 112, fig. 10, pl. II, 11.

<sup>4</sup> See also *op. cit.*, p. 112, fig. 10, pl. II, 11.

<sup>5</sup> See also *op. cit.*, p. 112, fig. 10, pl. II, 11.

<sup>6</sup> See also *op. cit.*, p. 112, fig. 10, pl. II, 11.

<sup>7</sup> See also *op. cit.*, p. 112, fig. 10, pl. II, 11.





## A. BIBLIOGRAPHY

- BORGIO, *Reliquie romaines* (137 pp., 132 f. + 14), Roma-Venezia, Venetia, 1541, p. 171.  
 AUGUSTINI, *Monasterium Montium in Regione Reatina* (178 pp., 172 f.).  
 FAL. MARCELLUS in FRONTO, *Lexicon*, 1313, p. 117 f.  
 PRINIA, *Insuetudinæ in Reate*, Roma, 1817, p. 78. *L'antichità di Reate* Verona, 1898, 4 (pp. 61).  
 FRONTO, *Quæstiones in rebus in Reate*, Venetia, 1543, p. 77.  
 PAVANI, *Le prime missioni di Roma: la chiesa di S. Sabina*, Roma, 1926.  
 DEL SANTI, *Una meraviglia*, 1926, p. 69 f.  
 TANTINI, *Storia*, 1926, p. 8 f.  
 BERTHOLD, *Studii topografici dell'abbazia di Santuario*, Roma, 1928, p. 107 f.  
 VERONESI, *Fontana sacra*, 1928, p. 11 f., 1931, p. 89 f.  
 FALCONI DEL PAVANI, *Le arti materne*, Roma, 1929, p. 131 f.  
 BIGNARDI, *Trattato storico delle arti materne*, Roma, 1933, p. 141 f.  
 NERCIANO, *Chi siamo*, 1933, p. 110 ff.  
 FERRAZZI, *Storia della scultura*, Roma, 1933, p. 275 ff., 1938, p. 28 f.  
 MERLINI, *Reale di piazza santa*, 1933, p. 246 f.  
 GUARINI, *Punto*, Mailand, I, 1936, p. 186 ff.  
 DABRY, *Cammino*, 1936, p. 40 f.  
 CARONZANO, *Una Roma in Cristianità*, Roma, 1936, p. 17 ff.  
 PIGNORI-SANTARELLI-CRISTOFARI, *Roma antica e moderna*, Roma, 1936, p. 447 f.  
 RIBBISSINI, *Studi storici e artistiche*, I, Roma, 1936, p. 253 f.  
 VILLA, *Storia di Roma*, Roma, I, p. p., 1936, pp. 439 f.  
 NARDI, *Forme del suolo*, 1936, p. 619 ff.  
 CASARETO, *Cappi (1894-1954)*, p. 69, 189, p. 61 f.  
 FERRAZZI, *Storia di Roma*, I, 1935, p. 200 ff.  
 DE ROMA, *Storia dell'arte di S. Sabina nell'Avventino*, *Bollettino di corrispondenza archeologica*, Merano, 1, 1934, p. 140, 1935, 1936, 1937, p. XVII ff.  
 BONICCONTI, *Monumenti di Piazza S. Sabina* (1871-1872), Paris, 1891.  
 VIGNOLETTI, *Guida alla Chiesa di Santa Sabina* (1871-1872), Paris, 1891.  
 VIGNOLETTI, *Guida alla Chiesa di Santa Sabina* (1871-1872), Paris, 1891.  
 LUTHERMEYER, *Ermitage*, II, 1898, p. 144.  
 FRONTO, *Lexicon*, VII, 1898, p. 279 f.  
 RIBBISSINI in FRONTO, *Le Storie di Roma* (III), Paris, 1933, p. 439.  
 DREYFOUS, *Monuments et topographie de Rome*, VII, Les Églises chrétiennes de l'Aventini, *Mémoires*, 31, 1905, p. 110 ff.  
 DE VIO, *S. Sabina del dato Aventini*, *Rivista*, 1905, p. 102 f.  
 BIGNARDI, *Insuetudinæ Romæ archæologicae à Nemesio Balbo*, *Stud.*, 1, 1906, p. 106 ff.  
 FERRAZZI, *Una Chiesa di Santa Sabina*, Terni, 1908.  
 DE ROMA, *Monumenti*, 1893, 1913, 1914, p. 43.  
 BIGNARDI, *Topografia di Santa Sabina*, Roma, 1910.  
 BIGNARDI, *Le Fontane di Santa Sabina*, *I Ricerche*, Roma, 1912.  
 FERRAZZI, *Chiesa cristiana, Nella Salaria*, *Rivista Topica*, 2, 1913, p. 249 ff.  
 MICHNER, *Insuetudinæ delle chiese di Santa Sabina nell'Avventino*, *Annali Romanorum*, 2 (1914), p. 129 ff., (1916), ristampa in 40, 1924.  
 SABAUDO, *Insuetudinæ delle chiese di Santa Sabina*, *V. B. CL.*, 30 (1914), p. 5 ff.  
 WOLFFSTADT, *Abbas*, 1916, pp. 100.

\* Ripubblicazione, Roma, in ristampa.

- MEUNIER, *Supplément à l'histoire ancienne de S. Sabina*, *Revue des Études Latines*, 13 (1935), p. 314 ff.  
 BRAUER, *Le Palazzo Apostolico di S. Sabina*, *Annali di Storia e Lettere di Santa Sabina*, I, Roma, 1935, 2 (1936), p. 119 ff.  
 KIRKBRID, *Topografia*, 1936, p. 16 f.  
 MICHNER, *Le chiese di S. Sabina in Roma*, Roma, 1936.  
 TANTINI, *Santa Sabina*, Roma, 1937.  
 MICHNER, *L'igiene di Santa Sabina*, *I Ricerche*, Roma, 1936.  
 THOMAS, *Chiese*, 1936, p. 430 f.  
 MARANI, *Sull'origine del sito antico di Santa Sabina*, *Indagini Critiche*, Fondazione, II, 1937, p. 16 f.  
 PRINIA, *Notizie termali scoperte a S. Sabina*, *Il Giornale d'Italia*, Oct. 26, 1936.  
 KIRKBRID, *Summaries reports on excavations*, *R.I.C.*, 23, 1936, p. 200, 49, 1936, p. 333.  
 HORN, *Notizen über die Grabungen*, *Pol. Diss.*, H. 4, 1937, 2, 13 f., 13 f., and 40 f.  
 MICHELE, *Il sistema della Salaria di Santa Sabina*, Roma, 1937, 1939, 1941, in *Mitteilungen*, 13 (1937), 13 (1939), 13 (1941), p. 96, 112.  
 VALENTINI-ZACCARELLI, *Col. Topografia*, II, 1942, p. 98, 112.  
 AMATILANO-CECCARELLI, *Chiese*, 1943, p. 704 ff.  
 COHEN, *Archaeological Tunnels and Foundations*, *R.I.C.*, 24, 1943, p. 36 ff.  
 DABRY, *Summary of lectures*, *R.I.C.*, 23, 1943, p. 218 f.  
 DABRY, *Titres funéraires chrétiens à Sainte-Sabine*, *Mémorial de l'École Française*, Collection Inscriventia (1-2), fasc. 23, Vatican City, 1954-1955, p. 451 ff.  
 DABRY, *Bibliographie chronologique de cette publication* (1939-1955), *Santa Sabina*, Roma, 1954.  
 DABRY, *Les portes de Sainte-Sabine dans l'archéologie de l'Aventini*, *publications générales de l'Institut de l'École Internationale d'Archéologie Chrétienne*, 1954, 1953, p. 41 ff., and hereafter at DABRY, 1954.  
 MATHIAS, *Facsimile vera et probabili di inscrite Romane*, *R.I.C.*, 33, 1956, p. 54 ff.  
 DABRY, *Santa Sabina. Le Chiesa di Roma illustrata*, 1956, *Roma, 1956*, with extensive bibliography, (and hereafter at DABRY, 1956).  
 DABRY, *Les portes de Sainte-Sabine*, *R.I.C.*, 31 (1954), p. 5 f.  
 DEBBI, *Inscriventia*, I, 1956, *passim*.  
 BIGNARDI, *Insuetudinæ Romæ archæologicae à Nemesio Balbo*, *Stud.* III, Roma, 1956, p. 134 ff.  
 DABRY, *Recherches archéologiques à Sainte-Sabine*, *Mémorial de l'École Française*, no. 11, 50, Vatican City, 1958 (and hereafter at DABRY, 1958).

## B. ANCIENT DESCRIPTIONS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

## I. ANCIENT DESCRIPTIONS\*

- Libro di tutta la spesa fatta da N. S. Papa Sixto V. à Santa Sabina*, in *Ediz.*, 1637, Roma, Vatican Archives.  
 AA. AA. B. 13 (excerpt in MICHELE, 1936, p. 41 ff.).  
 URSINO, *Schedario*, Roma, Vatican Library, Bibl. lat. 1982, f. 33 (192), 1923, ff. 195, 195 r., 199, 200 r., 201, 197 f.  
 URSINO, *Stibario*, c. 11 ff.  
 ROSSI, *Descritto aliquot templorum*, Roma, Vatican Library, Vat. lat. 11893, f. 176 ff.  
*Relazione della Chiesa e convento di S. Sabina*, 1639, Macerata, Bibl. Concordia, Ms. 5 (18), 50th edition, dated 1729, 1739; (transcribed by RIBBISSINI in 96, 1936, p. 11 ff.).  
 BIGNARDI, *Theatrum Romanæ Urbis*, t. XVI, Roma, Vatican Library, Vat. lat. 11893, f. 87.  
*Storia del convento e della Chiesa di Santa Sabina in Roma*, Roma, B. D., Conca, 300, 1966.  
*Memorie riguardanti il monastero di S. Sabina dal 1210 al 1897*, Roma, Archifium Centrale, S. Sabina, OP XIII, 612, in large part copied from *la Relazione*, and above transcribed by BIGNARDI, *op. cit.*, 1910, p. 323 ff.  
*Viaggio storico delle chiese e convento di Santa Sabina, fatto in Roma*, 1773, CASSARELLI ed. Schedario, Roma, Vatican Library, Vat. lat. 1965, p. 254 ff., excerpted by BIGNARDI, *op. cit.*, 1910, p. 11 ff.;  
 SABBATINO, *Schedario*, Roma, Vatican Library, Vat. lat. 1913, f. 68 f.  
 PIGNORI, *Schedario*, Roma, Vatican Library, Vat. lat. 1912, f. 107 f.

\* DABRY, *op. cit.*, p. 151 f., for some Latin and Greek descriptions which are not included here.





D. GENERAL DESCRIPTION

S. Sabina stands high on the ridge of the Aventine, overlooking the Tiber. The church is oriented from southwest to northeast<sup>1</sup>. On the right hand side (to the southeast) the hill slopes gently down toward the Piazza Rudolphina; but on the other side it descends progressively to the river bank, and a level space only fifty meters wide separates the wall of the basilica from the top of the precipice (figs 48, 68). It appears that in ancient times the *Vicus Albus* traversed this space,

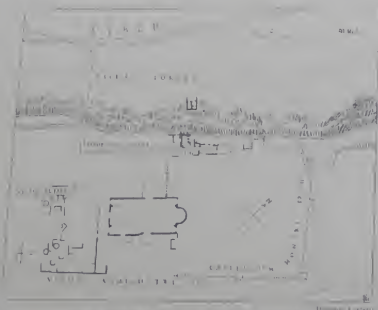


Fig. 67. S. Sabina. Site plan (after Ruggieri revised).

running more or less parallel with the side of the church<sup>2</sup>. Another ancient street, presumably the *Vicus Arminius*, lay to the southeast, perhaps in line with the modern Via S. Sabina.

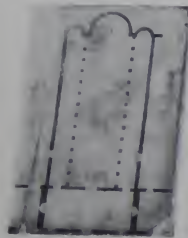
The basilica consists of nave, side aisle and apse. Originally there must have been three doors west in the west wall<sup>3</sup>, but only two remain: a Romanesque campanile occupies the place of the northern door, filling the western extremity of the north aisle. The doors of the central opening incorporate the famous set of thirteenth-century carved cypress wood panels<sup>4</sup>. Since the Romanesque portico, and probably still earlier, the three entrances have been sheltered by a narthex inserted between the east wall of the basilica and a parallel wall seven meters west of the basilica and probably earlier in date. Today the narthex is entered only at the south end, but presumably another entrance originally opened from the north, off the *Vicus Albus*. We find no evidence of an original

<sup>1</sup> *Archiv für die Kunde des Mittelalters*, 1887, p. 100. The orientation is given as 100° (southwest) to 180° (northeast).  
<sup>2</sup> *Annali dell'Istituto di Studi e Ricerche per l'Architettura*, 1901, p. 100. The orientation is given as 100° (southwest) to 180° (northeast).  
<sup>3</sup> *Annali dell'Istituto di Studi e Ruggieri*, 1901, p. 100. The orientation is given as 100° (southwest) to 180° (northeast).  
<sup>4</sup> *Annali dell'Istituto di Studi e Ruggieri*, 1901, p. 100. The orientation is given as 100° (southwest) to 180° (northeast).

Fig. 68. S. Sabina. View from the east.



Fig. 69. S. Sabina. Interior.

Fig. 70. S. Salaria, facade, 1445, 1478<sup>12</sup>

assistance to the narthex from the west. Although studies of the plan did exist from the fifteenth into the seventeenth centuries (figs. 28, 71).

Inside, the church has been restored in two comparatively recent campaigns<sup>13</sup> none or less to its Early Christian character (fig. 69). It displays a spacious and lofty nave flanked by two aisles and well illuminated by eleven very large clerestory windows in each side wall, five windows in the west wall and three in the apse. The clerestory walls are supported by twenty-four uniform Corinthian columns crowned by arcades with a pavement of *opus sectile*. A large *schola cantorum* occupied the eastern half of the nave; its original plan remains in doubt, though its walls are composed of fragments of ninth century *plata* discovered in the pavement of the church<sup>14</sup> prior to and during Minozz' restorations. Three chapels of late date project laterally from the aisle to the south, the sixteenth century Chapels of Saint Joseph and Saint Dominik<sup>15</sup> and to the north, the seventeenth century

Chapel of Saint Catherine of Siena.

Before 1790, except for a short lived high altar erected by Posetti in 1796, the church retained the character given it in two major restorations. A small apse terminating the north aisle (the Capella del Rosario) and the elegant side porch from which the south aisle is entered have survived from a fifteenth century campaign undertaken by Cardinals Giulio Cesaremi (1490-1496) and Auisia de Podio (1474-1481)<sup>16</sup>. Like-wise, the cusped two-light tracery work, which was removed from the apse windows in 1914, apparently stemmed from Cesaremi's restoration; a coffered ceiling, perhaps of the same date<sup>17</sup>, was demolished during the second restoration, undertaken under Sixtus V. A plan, dating from 1480 or slightly later, may represent a project for remodeling the church at the time of Cardinal Auisia (fig. 70). The drawing deviates from the church then in existence in a number of ways: the narthex is shown deeper and much longer than it actually was; it is closed north and south by thick walls, each with three niches, the central niche reaching to the ground, the lateral ones higher up; three doors pierce the west wall of the narthex. Further, Cardinal Cesaremi's south porch is omitted, while

Fig. 71. S. Salaria, Restored in Workshop Plans, ca. 1480-1481

Arch. Stor. - 1964 - vol. 12 - no. 1  
 Roma - 1964 - p. 140  
 L'Architettura - 1964 - vol. 12 - no. 1  
 Roma - 1964 - p. 140

a small apse terminating each aisle only (the apse to the north, Cardinal Auisia's Capella del Rosario, was excluded) (fig. 71).

In the rebuilding of Sixtus V, directed by Domenico Fontana in 1486 to 1490, a number of very thorough changes were effected in the original structure: most of the nave windows were blocked, leaving but three on either side and three round ones in the facade<sup>18</sup>; an open ambulatory was placed over the nave<sup>19</sup>; the apse windows were blocked while the pavement of the apse wall "le lastre de piombo et marmi che facevano la incrostatura della Tribuna"<sup>20</sup> was removed and its port entered in the pavement of the apse "almentato de pietre, e spertato et marmo nuovo all' usanza della volta"<sup>21</sup>. Also demolished were the ninth century channel enclosure composed of pilasters, as inscribed bronze diad. columnettes and an architrave<sup>22</sup>; the old altar supported by four columns in the apse<sup>23</sup>, and a number of elements of high medieval date: two ambos, a screen wall across nave and aisles, five altars in the front of the church (at least one of these was attached to the western wall) remnants of an intarsia pavement and an old *ambulo*.<sup>24</sup>

In the same campaign the channel was modernized; the altar was transferred to the nave, in line with the penultimate column; a crypt was placed beneath and made accessible by a flight of stairs; and a *cathedra* flanked by chisels was set up of the apse.<sup>25</sup> (Fig. 71 presents the church largely as Sixtus V restored it.)

Except for Taddeo Zacari's fresco in the apse vault, the sixteenth century decorations and structural alterations were removed between 1914 and 1928 when the church was restored by Minozz<sup>26</sup>. More recently some of the ornamental paintings which originally decorated the aisle have been uncovered under the direction of the late Fa. Dassi.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Borsari, op. cit. p. 141, no. 24, fig. 112, and fig. 113.

<sup>13</sup> See notes on this restoration, especially at the end of the text.

<sup>14</sup> *Fabre de nave in piombo*, reported by Minozz, op. cit. p. 141, no. 24, fig. 112, and fig. 113.

<sup>15</sup> De Luca, *Storia*, II, p. 141, no. 24, fig. 112, and fig. 113.

<sup>16</sup> *Tabella della chiesa*, Opere ed. Minozz, per restaurare, vol. I, p. 141, no. 24, fig. 112, and fig. 113.

<sup>17</sup> *Tabella della chiesa*, Opere ed. Minozz, per restaurare, vol. I, p. 141, no. 24, fig. 112, and fig. 113.

<sup>18</sup> *Tabella della chiesa*, Opere ed. Minozz, per restaurare, vol. I, p. 141, no. 24, fig. 112, and fig. 113.

<sup>19</sup> *Tabella della chiesa*, Opere ed. Minozz, per restaurare, vol. I, p. 141, no. 24, fig. 112, and fig. 113.

<sup>20</sup> *Tabella della chiesa*, Opere ed. Minozz, per restaurare, vol. I, p. 141, no. 24, fig. 112, and fig. 113.

<sup>21</sup> *Tabella della chiesa*, Opere ed. Minozz, per restaurare, vol. I, p. 141, no. 24, fig. 112, and fig. 113.

<sup>22</sup> *Tabella della chiesa*, Opere ed. Minozz, per restaurare, vol. I, p. 141, no. 24, fig. 112, and fig. 113.

<sup>23</sup> *Tabella della chiesa*, Opere ed. Minozz, per restaurare, vol. I, p. 141, no. 24, fig. 112, and fig. 113.

<sup>24</sup> *Tabella della chiesa*, Opere ed. Minozz, per restaurare, vol. I, p. 141, no. 24, fig. 112, and fig. 113.

<sup>25</sup> *Tabella della chiesa*, Opere ed. Minozz, per restaurare, vol. I, p. 141, no. 24, fig. 112, and fig. 113.

<sup>26</sup> *Tabella della chiesa*, Opere ed. Minozz, per restaurare, vol. I, p. 141, no. 24, fig. 112, and fig. 113.

<sup>27</sup> *Tabella della chiesa*, Opere ed. Minozz, per restaurare, vol. I, p. 141, no. 24, fig. 112, and fig. 113.

<sup>28</sup> *Tabella della chiesa*, Opere ed. Minozz, per restaurare, vol. I, p. 141, no. 24, fig. 112, and fig. 113.

<sup>29</sup> *Tabella della chiesa*, Opere ed. Minozz, per restaurare, vol. I, p. 141, no. 24, fig. 112, and fig. 113.

<sup>30</sup> *Tabella della chiesa*, Opere ed. Minozz, per restaurare, vol. I, p. 141, no. 24, fig. 112, and fig. 113.

<sup>31</sup> *Tabella della chiesa*, Opere ed. Minozz, per restaurare, vol. I, p. 141, no. 24, fig. 112, and fig. 113.

<sup>32</sup> *Tabella della chiesa*, Opere ed. Minozz, per restaurare, vol. I, p. 141, no. 24, fig. 112, and fig. 113.

<sup>33</sup> *Tabella della chiesa*, Opere ed. Minozz, per restaurare, vol. I, p. 141, no. 24, fig. 112, and fig. 113.

<sup>34</sup> *Tabella della chiesa*, Opere ed. Minozz, per restaurare, vol. I, p. 141, no. 24, fig. 112, and fig. 113.

<sup>35</sup> *Tabella della chiesa*, Opere ed. Minozz, per restaurare, vol. I, p. 141, no. 24, fig. 112, and fig. 113.

<sup>36</sup> *Tabella della chiesa*, Opere ed. Minozz, per restaurare, vol. I, p. 141, no. 24, fig. 112, and fig. 113.

<sup>37</sup> *Tabella della chiesa*, Opere ed. Minozz, per restaurare, vol. I, p. 141, no. 24, fig. 112, and fig. 113.

## E. ANALYSIS

### 1. Antecedent buildings<sup>1</sup>

#### a. BELOW THE NORTH AISLE

Remains of unidentified Roman buildings in three distinct strata are found in the eastern part of the south aisle, both below ground level and incorporated in the rising wall of the aisle<sup>2</sup> (pls. V, VI). The earliest, probably belonging to the first century B. C., is represented by four travertine column bases with apophyge fillets and Ionic moldings above two angular plinths, and inflated drums, ca. 105 cm. in diameter. The bases, at a distance of 2.98 m. below the church floor, are set out in a straight line, parallel with and 1.2 m. inside the aisle wall. The rows of four is arranged in two pairs; the distance between bases within each pair is 1.99 m., from center to center, while the two inner bases are 7.62 m. apart (pl. VI). Hence it is uncertain whether a fifth column stood in the middle of the pair or whether from the outset the central intercolumniation was merely twice that of the flanking columns. A mutilated Ionic capital, associated with the bases in second use (probably belonging to the original colonnade. In the second century A. D. the lower parts of the colonnade were incorporated into a series of vaulted substructures, built apparently for the purpose of raising the floor of the complex some 4 m. above the original level. The four column bases were embedded in a wall of mixed *opus reticulatum* and brick construction, and a series of vaulted chambers with walls of *opus reticulatum* was constructed against the south face of this wall. Evidently the new building was also colonnaded, since the original bases were left *in situ*, presumably for use as foundations of a super-elevated colonnade. The difference in level between the original bases and the new floor was made up with odd column drums, some of them fluted, as well as with the Ionic capital mentioned above, all neatly piled one above the other and dependent for rigidity on the fact that they were embedded in the masonry of the substructure. While the original columns came to be used again as though they were pile foundations for the super-elevated building, these vestiges of the original building seem to have been deliberately covered, and a means of access to them was provided through the vaulted cellars via a row of doorways 1.00 m. wide, spanned by stout travertine fluted stones and set close to the brick and reticulate wall into which the columns were incorporated. In addition to the floor foundation piers provided by the ancient columns, the second building was supplied with several other reinforced foundation points or piles. These were constructed of stone blocks embedded in the walls of the vaulted substructure but not, as far as we know, based on a pre-existing colonnade like that described above. Some of these piles are made of squared blocks; others are column drums from earlier buildings, but made of peperino instead of travertine.

<sup>1</sup> The first three strata, however, are represented by the plan of S. Nikola of Trier, known from its archaeological plan (see plan, fig. 11). The plan of S. Nikola is not the only one of its kind. It is also represented by the plan of S. Maria in the Lateran, which has the same general form as the plan of S. Nikola, but with the difference that the central intercolumniation is only twice that of the flanking columns. The plan of S. Maria is also represented by the plan of S. Maria in the Lateran, which has the same general form as the plan of S. Nikola, but with the difference that the central intercolumniation is only twice that of the flanking columns. The plan of S. Maria is also represented by the plan of S. Maria in the Lateran, which has the same general form as the plan of S. Nikola, but with the difference that the central intercolumniation is only twice that of the flanking columns.

In the third period of building the plan found to have been considerably simplified and the two walls no longer correspond with the former foundation. A brick wall with several (11) half-openings parallel to the original colonnade (but 4.3 m. inwards to the north-west) from a time dating of the second period vaulting (pl. VI). For foundation it had a row of interlocking brick piers passing through the vaults of the preceding structure, which apparently was already by some when the third period wall was built. The line brickwork of the wall indicates a date not later than the end of the second century<sup>3</sup> (fig. 74). It was subsequently raised in the church, incorporated in the east half of the south aisle wall. Three openings surmounted by segmental archivolts are visible from the outside in the eastern portion of this wall; to the right one sees half of a wide opening, further west are the two jambs of a blocked aperture about 2 m. wide; finally, a tall narrow aperture is at the extreme left. Above this narrow opening a bulge in the modern exterior inclines to the west as it rises to the summit of the aisle wall, suggesting that the second century masonry is continuous up to the top. What is probably a continuation of the same structure is seen at the top of the wall about a meter to the west, extending two or three meters to the left and ceasing at a vertical perpendicular in the brickwork (fig. 72). An apparently later wall (probably of fourth century date) continues in the same alignment westward as far as the Chapel of Saint Hyacinth. Both walls are capped by a common cornice of three corbelled brick courses on marble moldings.



Fig. 74. S. Maria. East part of aisle wall. Brick construction of anteroptic masonry, masonry and joints, cornice, ledges.



Fig. 75. S. Maria. East part of aisle wall. Brick construction, masonry, cornice, ledges, masonry, Roman construction.

The changing width of the south aisle (pl. V) suggests that other Roman vestiges survive beneath it. While the larger part of the aisle is equal in breadth both the north aisle, the western half is 0.85 m. wider; thus the western part of the aisle, like the eastern half, must make use of some earlier structure (like Roman but different from that to its

<sup>3</sup> Dancy, *loc. cit.* 30, suggests the date of the second century. See also, fig. 11, p. 1063. The plan of S. Maria in the Lateran, which has the same general form as the plan of S. Nikola, but with the difference that the central intercolumniation is only twice that of the flanking columns.

1986). At all, the eastern building remains unidentified, but the *chilidromos* in the alignment of the wall shows that it was a separate structure. About midway in the south wall of the church, a single isolated Corinthian column<sup>2</sup> is embedded in the fabric of the wall. The shaft is 3.06 m high, and the Attic base on which it stands lies more than 2 m. below the church floor level. Obviously the column plays no part in the design of the church. It seems to belong to one of the pre-existing buildings—either that below the east part of the aisle, or the unknown building which is betrayed by the anomalous alignment of the west part. We cannot say which, because the center of the column is not quite in line with either wall; indeed, it is even possible that it represents a third antecedent building.

#### B) BELOW THE NORTH AISLE.

A variation in the alignment of the north wall of the church is similarly caused by the presence of antecedent buildings in its foundations. The aisle has a fairly consistent width of 5 m. but, at a distance of 7 m. from the east end, a slight but distinct distortion of the north wall reduces the width by 1.00 m. (pl. V). This obliquity coincides with the junction at right angles of the church and a thick wall which now forms the west side of the sacristy and adjacent library. Since it causes an irregularity in the aisle wall, it must have been in existence when the church was built; its relationship with the presumed course of the *Vacu Aluu* has yet to be clarified (fig. 67). The part of the church wall standing east of the antecedent wall is said to be founded on the remains of a monumental construction of *tufa opus quadratum*<sup>3</sup>; this material is now ruined and we have not been able to examine it. Other parts of the north aisle wall are said to be built of reused quadrate blocks of *tufa* and *marmor*<sup>4</sup>; unfortunately none of this material is visible today.

#### C) IN AND NEAR THE NARTHEX.

Remains of a building antedating the church, yet different from those identified below the two aisles, are preserved below the west bays of the nave, below the narthex, and in the west wall of the narthex. The pavement of this building is exposed in two trenches, in the nave and narthex respectively, 1.80 m. below nave level and accessible through gratings in the church floor (pls. V, VI). In the nave trench two parallel sills for *cancelli* run east-west, defining a *dromo*, or gangway<sup>5</sup>, 3.40 m. wide and parallel with the axis of the church but nearly 2 m. south of it<sup>6</sup>. The upper surfaces of the two parallel marble sills show grooves to house the edges of *platae* plaques, and sockets to receive the posts which held them erect (figs. 74, 75). The posts were spaced 3 m. apart. The floor to either side of the gangway was paved with *opus sectile*, but only the bipedal baskers on which the *lectus* was originally assembled have survived<sup>7</sup> (fig. 74). The gangway between the *cancelli* is on two levels, with a step 0.20 m. high about halfway between the pairs of chancel posts. The lower level, to the west, is paved with black and white mosaics in a simple guilloché pattern (fig.

<sup>1</sup> Comparison with the *antiquarium* (1980) plan. If the construction of the aisle wall were due to the use of ancient masonry in the east half of the *basilica* (1981) p. 30, seems unlikely; the west aisle would have the same width as the west part of the south aisle.

<sup>2</sup> *Basilica*, op. cit. 1981, p. 30; fig. 11; *Museo*, 1938, pl. 48, fig. 2; *Dazio*, 1968, p. 82.

<sup>3</sup> *Dazio*, 1968, pp. 82-83.

<sup>4</sup> *Dazio*, 1968, p. 82.

<sup>5</sup> Thus we study still the building the *dromo* building.

<sup>6</sup> *Museo*, 1938, p. 82; *Dazio*, 1968, p. 82; *Dazio*, 1968, pp. 82, 83, and *Dazio*, 1968, p. 79. If we look at the plan of the church, the *dromo* is south of the *basilica* column mentioned above; survivors of the wall of the south aisle. He dates this discovery in the second century and identifies the pavement a *basilica* library stairs.

<sup>7</sup> For other examples of this kind of perforated *opus sectile*, *Basilica di Massimo*, in the first church of S. Marco, and possibly in S. Maria in Trastevere; see *Atti*, V, II, p. 214 ff. and *Ved.* III, p. 71.



Fig. 74. S. Sabina. "Dromo building" showing the remains of a gangway with plaster-painted baskers and a brick pier inserted with plaster painted black, white and yellow. According to the plan published by Munoz at the time of discovery<sup>1</sup>, a similar pier was found 4 m. to the east, but it is no longer visible, since it is outside the area of the conserved trench; at there seems to be no written description of it; it cannot be taken into consideration. The trench in the narthex reveals the west part of the gangway and, to it, another step. Here the *opus sectile* of the pavement is still intact on its bipedal baskers (fig. 76). It is bordered by marble strips flush with the floor, in place of the sill blocks of the eastern trench. To the west two chancel posts still stand erect; they are pieces of a column shaft 0.33 m. in diameter and 1.50 m. high, set into the pavement and incised on the east face with vertical grooves to house the *platae* which they formerly supported. These posts are 6 m. distant from the nearest post baskers in the nave trench, and it is obvious that there must have been two more posts halfway between, standing just at the point where the excavated area is cut off by a modern wall and where the remains of another step, 0.60 m. high, are discernible.



Fig. 75. S. Sabina. "Dromo building" mosaic pavement.



Fig. 76. S. Sabina. "Dromo building" mosaic pavement.

75) it is level with the *opus sectile* of the flanking compartments. The upper step has the same prebunkered *opus sectile* that occurs outside the *ambula*. Two and one-half meters south of the gangway, we find the remains of a brick pier inserted with plaster painted black, white and yellow. According to the plan published by Munoz at the time of discovery<sup>1</sup>, a similar pier was found 4 m. to the east, but it is no longer visible, since it is outside the area of the conserved trench; at there seems to be no written description of it; it cannot be taken into consideration. The trench in the narthex reveals the west part of the gangway and, to it, another step. Here the *opus sectile* of the pavement is still intact on its bipedal baskers (fig. 76). It is bordered by marble strips flush with the floor, in place of the sill blocks of the eastern trench. To the west two chancel posts still stand erect; they are pieces of a column shaft 0.33 m. in diameter and 1.50 m. high, set into the pavement and incised on the east face with vertical grooves to house the *platae* which they formerly supported. These posts are 6 m. distant from the nearest post baskers

in the nave trench, and it is obvious that there must have been two more posts halfway between, standing just at the point where the excavated area is cut off by a modern wall and where the remains of another step, 0.60 m. high, are discernible.

The west wall of the present narthex incorporates remains of an arcaded colonnade which seems to be contemporary with the pavement and its *dromo*; and, like these, to antedate the construction of the church. The arcades, numbering seven, were blocked later with a masonry of brick and *tufa*; in a second operation a large room, the chamber of Saint Dominic, was built above the narthex,

<sup>1</sup> *Museo*, 1938, p. 117.



and the walls of the narthex were raised and provided with windows, into the triforium and projected into the second floor, into the roof and upper chamber.<sup>1</sup> Despite all these circumstances, the large hall though of the wall which before the wall is easily discernible (pls. V, VI, figs. 77, 78). The niches, spaced in the chamber immediately above the narthex, are single arches of the composite order in diameter and rising to an apex 1.5 m. above the church floor, thus the arches



FIG. 77. B. Stubbins. Facade of narthex.



FIG. 78. S. Stubbins. Facade of narthex, architectural drawing.

of the second floor in 1868<sup>2</sup> the remains of the *triforium* building<sup>3</sup>. They were supported on columns: the arches were built into the wall has a shaft of 50th cent., 1.20 m. high and surmounted by a Corinthian capital with simple beak-tooth leaves. The base of the column rests on a block of apparent travertine on a wall which, itself to over 7 m. high with respect to a block of travertine pavement, is provided with piers which pavement and wall meet is not visible, but the center line of the arch, correspond exactly with that of the gurgoyles. Prevailing opinion regards the *triforium* as belonging to an atrium which supposedly extended to the west and was contemporaneous with the church<sup>4</sup>, but we must disagree: the bases of the arcade stand 2.35 m. above the church floor and this at least that much above the level of an atrium, if it indeed existed; moreover, the *triforium* is situated on the outside and is not related to the axis of the church. Hence, we propose that the *triforium* and its supporting wall introduce the church and that the former constituted a large public entrance to the west wall of the *triforium* building<sup>5</sup>. At a lower level, a doorway on the axis of the *triforium* is approached by the revivment of the narthex wall, but as far as we know, this has never been suggested.

In the *triforium*, certainly a street pavement was seen in the courtyard, west of the arched wall and adjoining it so closely that the wall seems to encroach on it; but its level, *R. Babini* (1790), before giving no reason to correspond to that of the *triforium* building<sup>6</sup>, which is 1.76 m. below sea level<sup>7</sup>. Further west, a theatre building was reportedly found in the area of the courtyard in 1871, and other ancient buildings came to light at the same time during construction of the theatre which north and west of the courtyard<sup>8</sup>. Unfortunately all this material had to be disposed for a driveway made at the time by Prigioni<sup>9</sup> depicts numerous disconnected features

<sup>1</sup> De Rosa, 1868, p. 23.

<sup>2</sup> De Rosa, 1868, p. 23.

<sup>3</sup> De Rosa, 1868, p. 23. See also De Rosa, 1868, p. 23. De Rosa, 1868, p. 23. De Rosa, 1868, p. 23.

<sup>4</sup> De Rosa, 1868, p. 23. De Rosa, 1868, p. 23. De Rosa, 1868, p. 23. De Rosa, 1868, p. 23.

<sup>5</sup> De Rosa, 1868, p. 23. De Rosa, 1868, p. 23. De Rosa, 1868, p. 23. De Rosa, 1868, p. 23.

<sup>6</sup> De Rosa, 1868, p. 23. De Rosa, 1868, p. 23. De Rosa, 1868, p. 23. De Rosa, 1868, p. 23.

<sup>7</sup> De Rosa, 1868, p. 23. De Rosa, 1868, p. 23. De Rosa, 1868, p. 23. De Rosa, 1868, p. 23.

<sup>8</sup> De Rosa, 1868, p. 23. De Rosa, 1868, p. 23. De Rosa, 1868, p. 23. De Rosa, 1868, p. 23.

<sup>9</sup> De Rosa, 1868, p. 23. De Rosa, 1868, p. 23. De Rosa, 1868, p. 23. De Rosa, 1868, p. 23.

below the four arches, among these had small frescoed openings which in fact were possibly small bath buildings or *apodytergia*.

The existence of an atrium in front of the 6th century church seems certain in all respects. The area of the courtyard was used for burial until during the Middle Ages. On the other hand, the excavations have brought to light a number of walls, presumably of 4th century date, which suggest the existence of a plan of an atrium, as the structures were constructed by successive walls parallel to each other and 4.0 m. apart, corresponding to the basement of the old *triforium*, which was demolished in 1871, a second wall was found facing westward from the fourth level of the narthex wall; finally, a third wall was found facing westward from the fourth level of the narthex wall. Thus, the presence of an atrium has been admitted. Unfortunately, nothing is known regarding the masonry technique of these walls or what evidence exists from date. Certainly, the communication to be expected between the two sides of the *triforium* and the *triforium* is to be expected, and we remain in doubt as to date and function of the walls found.

## 2. The church

The main entrance to the basilica (pl. VI), at its west end, is protected by a narthex which is part of the *triforium* building<sup>1</sup>. The wall is not quite parallel with the *triforium* wall, the interval between them is 2.70 m. at the southwest corner of the church, but only 1.60 m. in front of the central doorway. The northern front of the narthex is composed of a staircase and ramp leading to the monastic buildings which stand north and west of the church and which partly form the *triforium* and partly from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In the remaining part of the narthex, the wooden ceiling is supported on four shafts rising from wall to wall and resting on column shafts which stand against the walls; four plain column shafts on the west side and four spirally fluted *peristyle* shafts on the east (fig. 79). Of the latter, the three shafts on the south side of the central doorway have bases which incline to the right and they, while the single shaft north of the doorway has fluting inclined to the left. Presumably, there were formerly two more left-inclined shafts in the narthex area now occupied by stairs. The *triforium* arches on the west side of the central doorway and the three shafts may be of the same period. Above the narthex ceiling, the wall incorporates the ancient arcade mentioned above; but as a wooden floor the main wall is built with the masonry brickwork and plain marble window frames which are typical of construction in Rome in the late twelfth century (fig. 77).

The doorway from the narthex into the south aisle (fig. 79), 2.00 m. wide and 5.30 m. high, is composed of round blocks of grey Primitivian marble. The doorway consists of several architrave blocks decorated with simple cymation and fillet. Inside the cyma lines of the round blocks remain elements of Doric decoration, presumably the remains of the original metalwork. The lintel of the doorway is composed of another architrave stone, now placed on its side so that the paneled volute forms the decoration of the lintel. Over the member lies a cornice with cyma, consoles, fascia, and cyma all carved by a single block of marble. The cushions in the lunette between the consoles have been chiseled away and, at each end of the block, the decoration is

<sup>1</sup> De Rosa, 1868, p. 23. De Rosa, 1868, p. 23.

<sup>2</sup> De Rosa, 1868, p. 23. De Rosa, 1868, p. 23.

<sup>3</sup> De Rosa, 1868, p. 23. De Rosa, 1868, p. 23.



Fig. 85. S. Sabina. Narthex, doorway to right-hand aisle.

Fig. 86. S. Sabina. Narthex, doorway to right-hand aisle.



Fig. 86.

embellished by rock-masonry more crude than the original in both the remains of the moldings. The style of the original carving suggests that these blocks of marble date from the fourth century A. D., and we presume that they were converted into a door frame only when the church was last built.

The main entrance from the narthex to the nave is 2.15 m. wide and 3.20 m. high; it is framed with richly decorated jambs and lintel of white marble and a similarly decorated cornice above, in judge by the style of the carving, all these members date from the third century (fig. 86). The moldings of the lintel are mitred at the corners and continue in

the jambs, showing that the width of the doorway remained unchanged when it was transferred to the church. Originally a third doorway must have led to the north aisle; if no longer exists, since the wall through which it passed was demolished when the Romanesque campanile was built.

Another doorway opens in the south wall of the south aisle some 8 m. from the west wall. It has a plain marble architrave 0.66 m. thick, decorated with a narrow cymation molding. The doorway is sheltered by a porch of three cross-vaulted bays which rest on a pair of Corinthian columns in travertine, between end piers of stone. The travertine columns replace shafts of black granite which were removed to the Vatican Museum in the nineteenth century.<sup>1</sup> The style of the porch and the door frame bespeaks a fifteenth century date; the half-obliterated aims of a candelum on the door lintel have been interpreted as those of Cardinal Cesarii, who held the title of S. Sabina from 1440 to 1455.<sup>2</sup>

Inside, the church is divided into a nave terminated by an apse and two aisles (figs. 69, 81). The nave measures 46.60 m. from the door to the chord of the apse; it is 11.30 m. wide between column centres. The apse is 7.20 m. deep. The aisles average 5.25 m. in width from column center to outer wall. The total clear width is thus 24.80 m., while the total length including narthex and apse is 62.91 m. (pl. V).<sup>3</sup>

The nave is flanked by arcades of thirteen arches which rest on a set of twenty-four uniform

<sup>1</sup> *Excavations in Rome*, 1907, p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> *Art and Architecture*, 1911, p. 141.

<sup>3</sup> *Ann. Inst. Arch.*, 1908, p. 51, gives slightly different measurements.



Fig. 87. S. Sabina. Right aisle and nave.



Fig. 88. S. Sabina. Capital.

Corinthian columns and five central, gular end piers. The design of the bases, shafts, and capitals shows much less variation than is usual in Early Christian buildings in Rome. All the bases are 0.53 to 0.57 m. square and 0.31 to 0.35 m. high and are decorated with uniform Attic moldings. Above them rise the white Proconnesian marble shafts, 5.42 to 5.42 m. (18 R. I.) in height and 0.63 m. in diameter, immediately above the apophyse.

The twenty-four flutes on each shaft are crested up to a height of 1.75 m. from the apophyse. Four of the shafts are built with drums of varying lengths, but the others are homogeneous. The capitals vary slightly in dimension but have an average height of 0.73 m., or 2 1/2 R. I. (fig. 88). They are orthodox Corinthian capitals except that the serrations of the acanthus lobes are enclosed in a curved frame outlining each leaf; this feature may imply that the sculpture is incomplete. The columns are certainly a uniform set, and judging by their style they cannot be later than the third century, perhaps the second half of the second century if more likely.<sup>4</sup>

The arcades which surmount the columns are brick except at the point of contact with the Corinthian capitals, where concealed triangular impostes of marble have been identified.<sup>5</sup> The arches are slightly stilted, the centers being 0.45 m. above the abacus of the capitals. The arcades are lined with marble plates, and the spandrels facing the nave are covered with panels of *opus sectile* in green and porphyry, *giallo antico*, and other marbles.<sup>6</sup> (figs. 69, 81). The thickness of the *sectile* (0.025 m.), applied only on the side of the arcade which faces the nave, gives the impression that the superstructure does not rise axially over the columns, but the anomaly is only an appearance, and the 0.60 m. brick core of each clerestory wall rests exactly on the top of the colonnade beneath it (pl. VI). At the top of the *sectile*, above a sill-block 0.025 m. wide, the brick

<sup>4</sup> Dr. D. Stronach of the British Museum gave us this independent opinion concerning the date of the columns, *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 1930, p. 21. On the other hand, *Excavations in Rome*, 1907, p. 10, assigns the construction of capitals to the fifth century.

<sup>5</sup> *Ann. Inst. Arch.*, 1908, p. 20 f.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 101.

clerestory walls are in present covered only with plaster; their original (masonry) appearance mosaic, has disappeared.<sup>1</sup> Higher up, starting 12.30 m. from floor level, are rows of windows, sixteen on each side. They are each 2.30 m. less than R. R. II wide and 1.11 m. high and are separated by brick piers 1.25 m. more than 4 R. R. II wide (figs. 68, 83, 84). The distance between the windows, from center to center, is thus 4.75 m. (12 R. R.). The openings are spanned by semicircular arches in which ocelluses and bipedales are indiscriminately mixed. The arches rise directly from the window jambs, without a setback at the springing.



Fig. 68. S. Sabina. View of right flank.

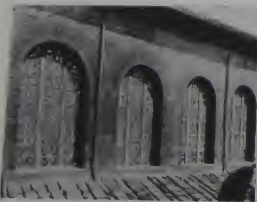


Fig. 69. S. Sabina. Right-hand transepts, showing ocelluses and bipedales.

horizontal ocelluses between thick mortar beds (fig. 83); the proportion of mortar to brick gives a modulus of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  courses per R. R., with 4 courses averaging 27.5 cm. and 5 courses, 34.5 cm. The mortar beds are from 26 to 40 mm. high, with an average of 32 mm.; the pointing is flush with a slight curve at the upper lip. The present concrete window latices, installed in 1918, are reproductions of the ancient gypsum transennae, some of which had been walled up in the sixteenth century and were discovered during the restorations.<sup>2</sup> A few of the original panels are preserved in the narthex. Each window opening was divided into three vertical parts by two wooden mullions, 0.16 m. wide and 0.105 m. thick, between which the perforated gypsum transennae were set. The perforations of the ancient windows and also of the modern ones, are filled with mica. We see no reason to doubt that the upper and gypsum window closures belong to the original building.<sup>3</sup>

At the east end of the nave, the clerestory walls project slightly and form what appear to be

<sup>1</sup> Krause, *op. cit.* (p. 104) also above, fig. 100.

<sup>2</sup> Krause, *ibid.* p. 107.

<sup>3</sup> Krause, *op. cit.* (p. 104) also above, fig. 100.

<sup>4</sup> Krause, *op. cit.* (p. 104) also above, fig. 100.

short buttresses which terminate in sloping setbacks, but both below and above the setbacks the buttresses are integral with the clerestory wall as well as with the wall of the apse (fig. 84).

While the sides of the nave are now bare, decoration between the apse and westwork of the arcade and the window fills the corresponding zone of the west wall is cut off by the famous mosaic inscription which records the building of the church by the presbyter Petrus of Illyria during the reign of Pope Celestine.<sup>4</sup> The seven lines of verse are executed in gold tesserae on a blue ground, surrounded by a margin of blue and gold spirals. At each side a female figure is depicted, bearing an open book, *ECCESTINE PETRO MURATORE* on the left and *CELESTINE* on the right. Above the mosaic panel, five round-headed windows now pierce the west wall, corresponding in height with the clerestory windows, but only 1.60 m. in width; they are separated by brick piers 0.65 m. wide (pl. VI). These openings are modern restorations; they replace an oval window inserted in 1729 in place of three round windows, dating presumably from the remodeling of Sixtus V.<sup>5</sup> The modern restoration is based on Ciampini's engraving of the original mosaics (fig. 84), which depicts five window arches with the symbols of

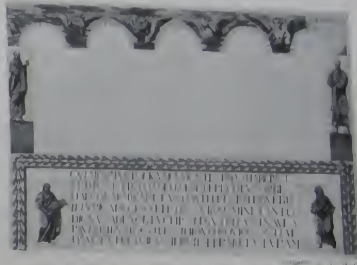


Fig. 84. S. Sabina. West mosaic fragment, center of it.

the evangelists in mosaic on the spandrels and bearded figures of the end piers. Critical objections could see only the outlines of the window arches below and between these mosaics; neither the strong projection of the end piers nor the distances of the windows shown in the engraving can be taken to reproduce faithfully the original arrangement. Indeed, the five original windows were separated by columns instead of the present brick piers, much as at SS Giovanni e Paolo.<sup>6</sup>

The apse, at the east end of the nave, is slightly sited in plan and is 11 m. wide and 7 m. deep. Its marble revetment is modern but is based on Domenico Fontana's account of his detection of the original revetment.<sup>7</sup> The windows, blocked in the sixteenth century, were replaced in 1938. Recent investigations have established that the half-dome of the apse was constructed with concealed ribs, a technique frequent in late Roman building.<sup>8</sup> The painting by Taddeo Zuccaro which decorates the apse vault may be a sixteenth-century representation of the subject of the original apse mosaic. A few fragments of the latter are embedded in the present plaster and Muñoz noted large numbers of fallen tesserae when excavating beneath the apse pavement.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See above, fig. 110-111.

<sup>2</sup> See above, figs. 120-121 and 122, and the notes of Krause and upper level above, p. 107.

<sup>3</sup> Krause, *op. cit.* (p. 107).

<sup>4</sup> See above, figs. 120-121 and p. 111.

<sup>5</sup> Krause, *op. cit.* p. 111.

<sup>6</sup> Krause, *op. cit.* (p. 107) also above, fig. 100.

<sup>7</sup> Krause, *op. cit.* (p. 107) also above, fig. 100.

<sup>8</sup> Krause, *op. cit.* (p. 107) also above, fig. 100.

<sup>9</sup> Krause, *op. cit.* (p. 107) also above, fig. 100.



Fig. 100. S. Sabina, view of apse.

attained by the blind to be attached to the apse at this point. Above this, the apse wall is pierced by three large round-headed windows, 2.50 m. wide and 3.50 m. high, whose sills are 6.5 m. above the nave floor. Possibly the openings were originally intended either to be set somewhat lower in the wall or to be longer, since the jambs continue downward 1.40 m. below the present sills in the normal vertical fissures, but the brickwork which raises the sills to the present level has the same solution as the rest of the wall, with a modulus of five courses averaging 33.5 cm. Thus the alteration may have been made during construction. On the other hand, the middle window has been modified in modern times. Originally the central opening was 0.25 m. wider than the lateral ones, but for some reason the three openings were made uniform in Muñoz's restorations, when the cusped thirteenth-century frames were removed and the present concrete lattices substituted. Some 12 m. above ground level and 1 m. above the apex of the windows, the cylinder of the apse wall is set back at foundation level about 0.10 m. wide. The brickwork above this interruption has exactly the same character as below, color and coursing are the same, and the somewhat irregular disposition of the square scaffold holes shows no significant change. Moreover, the setback, which clearly visible in the south half of the apse, is not so clearly erasable in its north half. Hence, it may represent simply a minor change in plan by which the outer face of the apse wall was slightly re-

<sup>1</sup> D'Armi, 1968, p. 122, fig. 80, 81.

duced by diameter (R. K.). On the other hand, since the level of the bottom corresponds exactly with the springing of the apse vault, it seems possible that the apse was left unexcavated on the exterior while the vault was finished, and that the upper portion of the apse wall was not added until later (S. C.).<sup>1</sup> Even so, it is hard to see why the builders did not continue their wall face in the same plane as below without the disfigurement of a setback.<sup>2</sup>

In the fifteenth century a small apsed chapel was built at the east end of the south aisle, thus replacing an entrance which previously existed there.<sup>3</sup> The remains of this doorway were discovered beneath this part of the building.<sup>4</sup> The west end of the north aisle was demolished in the Middle Ages to make way for the Romanesque campanile. Nothing of the original aisle wall can be seen in the campanile foundations. The doorway which originally must have opened in the west end of the north aisle has completely disappeared except, possibly, for part of a threshold stone.<sup>5</sup>

Both north and south-aisle walls are pierced at a height of 8.70 m. above the floor by a row of small round-headed windows, 0.30 m. wide and 1.30 m. high, and with played pinnacles. They are disposed so that each window corresponds with an arch of the nave arcade (fig. 69, 70). Nevertheless, size and shape of the windows and the *falsa curva* masonry of the pinnacles — the so-called horizontal lines are clearly visible — leave no doubt that they are of twelfth- or thirteenth-century date. No traces of earlier openings appear in the aisle walls; thus the aisles seem to have originally been without lighting of their own. On the other hand, Davis has uncovered traces of the original painted decoration of the aisles.<sup>6</sup> They are faint, but on the wall at the east end of the south aisle one still sees paintings, apparently of brocade hangings and a frontal piece of classical design; above the arcades a pattern of small rectangles imitates in paint the *opus sectile* of the nave arcades, itself an imitation of *opus quadratum*.

The campanile occupies the westernmost bay of the north aisle, as well as half the adjoining bay. At the base it measures 5.60 m. square and the walls are 1.40 m. thick, higher up they are about 1 m. thick. At clerestory level the west face of the tower is set back 0.40 m. behind the nave facade. At this level the simple arcading of the Romanesque structure survives, with two plain arches to each story (pl. V). There are traces of the spiral columns and archivolts, but these were probably shaved away when the Baroque bulfinch was constructed. The bulfinch presumably takes the place of Romanesque upper stories.

<sup>1</sup> D'Armi, 1968, pp. 122, 123, and fig. 84, with (122) fig. 85, also originally of Davis, 1903, especially in this phrase: "absence of external and exterior" — the text before the setback, facing north the South aisle, still belonging to a "basilica building" (sic) "the same plan" in the fifth century, which suggests the Romanesque type was incorporated in the structure of the basilica.

<sup>2</sup> A photograph of the apse wall (D'Armi, 1968, fig. 87) shows the difference of the right-hand side of the "same masonry" and facing below, toward the level of the apse, showing a Romanesque doorway (122) (fig. 85) which is also a photograph. "Was there still another level at that time?"

<sup>3</sup> Davis, 1903, p. 73.

<sup>4</sup> Davis, 1907, p. 181.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 208.

<sup>6</sup> Davis, 1903, p. 103, fig. 63.

## F. RECONSTRUCTION

## 1. Structures antedating the church

## A. BUILDING IN THE AREA OF THE AISLES

The buildings in the area below both aisles are too little known to permit an attempt at reconstruction. Those below the north aisle are entirely unexplored. Those below the east end of the south aisle are somewhat better known, but their earlier phases had little impact on the layout of the basilica, and perhaps the colonnaded Republican building nor the early Imperial vaulted chaucer which succeeded this structure need be discussed here.

On the other hand, the third building in this area was still well preserved when the basilica was built. The facade disappeared in the east end of the south wall of the aisle (figs. 72, 73) seems to consist of a house of the usual type with ground-floor shops, so frequently found in second and third century Rome. The plan of the building behind the facade remains unknown; the only certain fact is that the structure was built at the turn of the second century and rounded later in the third century. At that time, if not from the outset, it extended from the southeast corner of the forum to near as far as the Chapel of Saint Hyacinth, its length corresponded to the present height of the south wall, and it was terminated by a massive cornice. In line with the east wall of the Chapel of Saint Hyacinth, an alley separated it from the structure or structures whose remains survive below the junction and the west parts of the aisle and nave.<sup>1</sup>

## B. THE "DOMUS" BUILDING

It has frequently been suggested that the remains found below the west portion of the basilica all belong to the same late antique building, which thus would comprise the column still incorporated into the wall of the south aisle, as well as the *domus* and the pavements below the nave and narthex.<sup>2</sup> If our analysis is correct, the arched west wall of the narthex also forms part of that building. However, we are not sure that the column in the south wall formed part of the same complex; it is very difficult to explain the difference in level between the column at -2.06 m. and the pavements of the main hall at -1.76 m. Although steps would obviously overcome the disparity in levels, the existing evidence could equally well indicate two buildings or successive building extensions of a single structure. As it is, then, the overall layout cannot be satisfactorily visualized. From the hall which contained the *domus* is known only in part. We know for certain the west wall, built in three colonnaded arcades high above floor level, in all probability a heptastyle huge arched structure, the kind of a room extending outward for a least eleven meters from this wall, located supported with an *opus reticulatum* pavement and containing in its center the *domus*, a long rectangular panel with mosaic and flanked by *concella* running lengthwise. It has been suggested that this hall was part of the *titulus Sabinae* antedating to the church, that it was the meeting room of the congregation in that temple, and that the *domus* was part of its ecclesiastical arrangements.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> De Witte, *op. cit.*, p. 273, fig. 115, 116, 117.  
<sup>2</sup> De Witte, *op. cit.*, p. 273, fig. 115, 116, 117.  
<sup>3</sup> De Witte, *op. cit.*, p. 273.

In any event, it is remarkable that the *domus* which are known in Roman structures in the early fifth century had priors at an earlier date.<sup>4</sup>

We are inclined to suspend judgment. While it is obvious that the *titulus Sabinae* must have been somewhere in the area occupied by the basilica, we cannot be certain that it was identical with the "*domus* building."<sup>5</sup> Even if this could be proved, it is hard to explain the presence of its close proximity to the west wall does not allow room for liturgical movement at that point, even assuming that the altar was near the middle of the nave as was common in fourth century Rome. Rather, the layout suggests that the *domus* led to an entrance in the west wall below the arched windows, an arrangement so far unparalleled in any other Christian building. In spite of our ignorance of the liturgical layout of Roman ritual, we still think it possible that the "*domus* building" was secular rather than ecclesiastical. But we are also at a loss to explain its purpose in a secular building.

## 2. The church

Except for the house facade incorporated in the east part of the south wall and the arched wall of the "*domus* building," incorporated into the west wall of the narthex, the church of S. Sabina is an integral building, there is little to be added to the reconstruction proposed and carried out by Muñoz.

The plan of nave, aisles, narthex, and apse is simple, and appears to have remained unchanged, except that the narthex would have originally extended along the facade of the north aisle, where it has now been superseded by the location of the entrance into the narthex through its short north and south sides. The remains are obviously the location of the two Roman streets (fig. 67) along the north and south flanks of the basilica and the desire to retain in the new structure the arched west wall of the "*domus* building."<sup>6</sup> As stated above, we do not concur with the proposal to reconstruct west of the narthex, an atrium enveloped by a quadriportus, the east wing of which would be represented by the arcades of the narthex.<sup>7</sup> No trace has been found of stairs leading from the higher level of the supposed atrium, 2.45 m. above church level, to the narthex.<sup>8</sup> Moreover, the arcade of the narthex, the supposed east wing of the quadriportus, is 2.35 m. above the nave, and the interconnections of the arcade are not on the axis of the basilica on the other hand, they are axial with the earlier "*domus* building.

The elevation of nave and aisles has been well preserved by Muñoz's restoration, including the lower part of the west facade and the mosaic beneath the windows; the nave columns, arcades, and intarsia decoration in the spandrels, clerestory windows and a fragment of one of the original window grills. The marble revetment on the apse wall, as reconstructed by Muñoz probably conveys the appearance of the original decoration. A similar revetment originally existed on the walls of the narthex.<sup>9</sup> Only in the upper part of the west facade is Muñoz's reconstruction probably

<sup>1</sup> Massignon. An early Roman Church Antiquarian and its Liturgical Function, *op. cit.*, p. 273, fig. 115, the column of S. Petrus. Vitelli incorrectly suggests a column of the third century, but appears to mean a Church of the same period. *Antiquarian*, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 273. If the supposed archway (Massignon's system) at the eastern end, such a column would only indicate the date of the structure, but not the date of the church. Sabina has probably also in the West, see Klotz, *Antiquarian*, *op. cit.*, p. 273, fig. 115, 116, 117.

<sup>2</sup> De Witte, *op. cit.*, p. 273, fig. 115, 116, 117.

<sup>3</sup> De Witte, *op. cit.*, p. 273, fig. 115, 116, 117.

<sup>4</sup> De Witte, *op. cit.*, p. 273.

<sup>5</sup> De Witte, *op. cit.*, p. 273. <sup>6</sup> The *domus* must comprise the *titulus Sabinae* in the east end of the wall, the *titulus Sabinae* in the west end, and the *titulus Sabinae* in the north end. *Antiquarian*, *op. cit.*, p. 273, fig. 115, 116, 117.

—meters), all in all height of five openings were originally separated (and by piers too by isolation, thus forming a multiple colonnaded arcade comparable to that of SS. Giovanni e Paolo). The figures of the Evangelists in the spandrels and of two male figures, presumably Saints Peter and Paul, in the end piers have been recorded (fig. 3). The nave walls below the windows and above the murals were also said to have carried mosaics originally; Ciampini records traces of them at the corners of the nave façade. But it remains a moot question whether they showed figural representations or only ornamental designs. Later these mosaics may have been replaced by paintings, but they too have disappeared.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, traces of fifth century painted decoration have been found in the aisles, both above the arcade and on the side wall, overlaid by later decorative paintings on a layer dating from the ninth century; others from the high Middle Ages.

It has been suggested that the overall plan of the basilica is based on a complex system of moduli, and that the modulus is the height of a column including its base and capital, 6.2985 m.<sup>2</sup> The drawback to this ingenious proposal is that the modulus and its multiples all result in odd or broken numbers of Roman feet, such as 1 3/4 R. ft. for the basic modulus, 19 1/4 for the length of nave and width including narthex and apse. On the other hand, direct measurement results in figures such as 46.69 m = 160 R. ft. for the length and 34.80 m = 84 R. ft. for the total width of nave and aisle (measured along the east wall). Also, it should be remembered that the measurements throughout the building vary slightly, not the least in the height of the columns and the width of the aisles.<sup>3</sup>

### 3. Later changes

Most of the changes made to the original basilica concern the liturgical furnishings. No essential alterations have been made in its plan or structure, except the building of the campanile in the high Middle Ages and of the side chapels in the seventeenth century.

The first remarkable major change was in the ninth century, when a new chancel was laid out, projecting from the apse into the eastern bays of the nave. It was enclosed by marble *canals* and accessible through a presumably small bronze door dated by an inscription of Pope Eugene II.<sup>4</sup> Presumably the placing of the chancel close to the apse was linked to the relocation of the original altar, which may well have stood further west in the nave. Muñoz reconstructed the chancel in 1879, resting the original *canals*, by and large correctly, we think, but its exact original layout remains in question. In the ninth century also, the wall paintings in the aisles were gone over and supplemented by painted *colae*, characteristic of the period, indeed, an inscription of Eugene II referring to the erection of an altar canopy has been found on the aisle wall.<sup>5</sup> Supposedly at the same time the mosaics on the nave walls were replaced, wholly or in part, by wall paintings (rediscovered in 1625 and still seen by Ciampini, they have again been lost, and the passage in Eugene's biography remains the only witness for their dating.<sup>6</sup>

The next restoration campaign, in the thirteenth century, was presumably linked to the installation of the Dominican at S. Sabina. To some degree it, too, was designed to meet new liturgical

requirements. A screen wall, about 2.75 m. high and pierced in various end by a small door, was built across nave and aisles to separate the monastic congregation in the rear from the lay folk in front, in the front part five altars and a pair of ambos were set up and dedicated in 1281. One of the altars was placed against the center of the cross wall, while the position of the four other altars and the original place of the ambos remain unknown, as does the exact site of the screen wall itself,<sup>7</sup> in the middle of the church.<sup>8</sup> A side chapel, dedicated to the angels and the first chapel to be mentioned, was added to the right flank of the church.<sup>9</sup> To provide better light, small windows were pierced into the aisle walls. The narthex was reinforced by inserting transverse arches supported by columns with spiral flutings and probably extending along the entire original length of the narthex. Finally, the campanile was built, corresponding to liturgical demands and architectural custom in Rome in the high Middle Ages.<sup>10</sup> Contemporaneously or shortly later, perhaps in the second half of the thirteenth century, the aisle walls received a new painted decoration.<sup>11</sup>

The subsequent campaigns of repair and remodeling have been discussed above. In the fifteenth century, the south porch was built, as was the right lateral apse, originally the Chapel of the Rosary, supposedly a coffered ceiling was placed over the nave.<sup>12</sup> The changes of the late sixteenth century comprised the "modernization" removal of the early and high medieval furnishings from the nave and their replacement by furnishings meeting contemporary demands, these included a high altar on a new site and raised on a platform, a subterranean crypt, a *tribuna* and chancel in the apse, and a choir loft.<sup>13</sup> In the seventeenth century, the lateral chapels projecting from the aisles were built and decorated,<sup>14</sup> and apparently extensive repairs were undertaken by the nave.<sup>15</sup> Finally, the restorations of the twentieth century include the somewhat partial removal of all sixteenth century and later elements, except the side chapels, and the re-creation of the fifth century exterior and interior and of the ninth century chancel.<sup>16</sup>

## G. CHRONOLOGY

### 1. The original building

The house incorporated in the east portion of the south aisle appears to have been remodelled in the fourth century, and a date in the fourth century has also been assigned to the buildings found in the area west of the church.<sup>17</sup> Furthermore, the decoration of the "domus" building, wall strongly suggests a fourth century date. The *opus sectile laevis* constructed of this marble veneer backed with ligedals, finds close parallels in such buildings as the Basilica of Maxentius and Trajan beneath and thus antecedent to the Lateran baptistry, the first churches of S. Maria in Roma, and probably of S. Maria in Trastevere — all structures which date from the first half of the fourth

<sup>1</sup> See above, figs. 128 ff. (208-129), and below, figs. 131 ff. (The circular, post-Byzantine mosaic, in the aisle wall, is a later addition.)  
<sup>2</sup> See above, fig. 128 ff. (208-129), and below, figs. 131 ff. (The circular, post-Byzantine mosaic, in the aisle wall, is a later addition.)  
<sup>3</sup> See above, fig. 128 ff. (208-129), and below, figs. 131 ff. (The circular, post-Byzantine mosaic, in the aisle wall, is a later addition.)

<sup>4</sup> See above, fig. 128 ff. (208-129), and below, figs. 131 ff. (The circular, post-Byzantine mosaic, in the aisle wall, is a later addition.)

<sup>5</sup> See above, fig. 128 ff. (208-129), and below, figs. 131 ff. (The circular, post-Byzantine mosaic, in the aisle wall, is a later addition.)

<sup>6</sup> See above, fig. 128 ff. (208-129), and below, figs. 131 ff. (The circular, post-Byzantine mosaic, in the aisle wall, is a later addition.)

<sup>7</sup> See above, fig. 128 ff. (208-129), and below, figs. 131 ff. (The circular, post-Byzantine mosaic, in the aisle wall, is a later addition.)

<sup>8</sup> See above, fig. 128 ff. (208-129), and below, figs. 131 ff. (The circular, post-Byzantine mosaic, in the aisle wall, is a later addition.)

<sup>9</sup> See above, fig. 128 ff. (208-129), and below, figs. 131 ff. (The circular, post-Byzantine mosaic, in the aisle wall, is a later addition.)

<sup>10</sup> See above, fig. 128 ff. (208-129), and below, figs. 131 ff. (The circular, post-Byzantine mosaic, in the aisle wall, is a later addition.)

<sup>11</sup> See above, fig. 128 ff. (208-129), and below, figs. 131 ff. (The circular, post-Byzantine mosaic, in the aisle wall, is a later addition.)

<sup>12</sup> See above, fig. 128 ff. (208-129), and below, figs. 131 ff. (The circular, post-Byzantine mosaic, in the aisle wall, is a later addition.)

<sup>13</sup> See above, fig. 128 ff. (208-129), and below, figs. 131 ff. (The circular, post-Byzantine mosaic, in the aisle wall, is a later addition.)

<sup>14</sup> See above, fig. 128 ff. (208-129), and below, figs. 131 ff. (The circular, post-Byzantine mosaic, in the aisle wall, is a later addition.)

<sup>15</sup> See above, fig. 128 ff. (208-129), and below, figs. 131 ff. (The circular, post-Byzantine mosaic, in the aisle wall, is a later addition.)

<sup>16</sup> See above, fig. 128 ff. (208-129), and below, figs. 131 ff. (The circular, post-Byzantine mosaic, in the aisle wall, is a later addition.)

<sup>17</sup> See above, fig. 128 ff. (208-129), and below, figs. 131 ff. (The circular, post-Byzantine mosaic, in the aisle wall, is a later addition.)

<sup>1</sup> See above, fig. 128 ff. (208-129).

<sup>2</sup> See above, fig. 128 ff. (208-129).

<sup>3</sup> See above, fig. 128 ff. (208-129).

<sup>4</sup> See above, fig. 128 ff. (208-129).

<sup>5</sup> See above, fig. 128 ff. (208-129).

<sup>6</sup> See above, fig. 128 ff. (208-129).

<sup>7</sup> See above, fig. 128 ff. (208-129).

<sup>8</sup> See above, fig. 128 ff. (208-129).

<sup>9</sup> See above, fig. 128 ff. (208-129).

<sup>10</sup> See above, fig. 128 ff. (208-129).

<sup>11</sup> See above, fig. 128 ff. (208-129).

<sup>12</sup> See above, fig. 128 ff. (208-129).

<sup>13</sup> See above, fig. 128 ff. (208-129).

<sup>14</sup> See above, fig. 128 ff. (208-129).

<sup>15</sup> See above, fig. 128 ff. (208-129).

<sup>16</sup> See above, fig. 128 ff. (208-129).

<sup>17</sup> See above, fig. 128 ff. (208-129).

remains of the building, the history of the arched west wall of the "basilica building" is at the present time somewhat less certain than the date of its construction.

As for the building, the year of construction is clearly established. The inscription on the west wall mentions the foundation by the pontiff of Gelasius I. (492-496). The cost being borne by the people. From the *Libro Pontificale* which assigns the building to the pontificate of Sixtus III. (442-458), the title of Peter of Illyria as bishop rather than presbyter, and, in common view, the building was completed in Sixtus' pontificate, or perhaps only that he purchased the territory of foundation.<sup>1</sup>

## 2. Later changes

Independent alterations of the basilica are all datable without much difficulty. The ninth century mosaic and decorations are datable 824-827; the thirteenth century furnishings, 1238; presumably fifteen; slightly later by a reconstruction; the thirteenth century additions, 1441 and 1450-1462; the fifteenth century remodeling, 1508-1517 and the following years; finally the twentieth century remodeling, 1913-1914, 1937-1939 and 1953-1959.<sup>2</sup>

## B. HISTORICAL POSITION

Should the "basilica building" indeed prove to have been a titulus, then a fascinating example of a Roman titulus would be seen at S. Sabina. However, in the absence of any positive evidence of a Roman titulus (especially at the present time) we can say only that the existing church presents an example of a titulus building of the beginning of the fifth century and demonstrates, in its lavish decorative remodeling, the incipient stages of the classical revivalism of the fifth century.

<sup>1</sup> The inscription on the west wall of the building, which is now in the Vatican Museums, is the only one of its kind in Rome. It is the only one of its kind in Rome. It is the only one of its kind in Rome.

<sup>2</sup> The inscription on the west wall of the building, which is now in the Vatican Museums, is the only one of its kind in Rome. It is the only one of its kind in Rome. It is the only one of its kind in Rome.

## S. SEBASTIANO

(R. Knaulsmeyer, S. Corbelli)

### A. BIBLIOGRAPHY

- BASSANO, *Roma restaurata* (1540), pp. 10-12; *Roma restaurata*, Venice, 1543, p. 607.  
 MOTTISI, *Beschreibung des Stadt Rom*, 1452, ed. Vener. Bibliothek des literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, 128.  
 TAVIGNON, 1876, p. 36 ff.  
 FRA MARINO DA TREVISO, *Itinerarium*, 1517, p. 130.  
 PAVINO, *De praesepibus*, basiliæ, 1530, p. 93 ff.  
 PAV. SACCI, *Libro martirio*, 1588, c. 13.  
 PASCHETTI, *Trattato storico*, 1590, p. 74 ff., 162, p. 161 ff.  
 BAYONA, *Uderricht und sequetur von der Tuffen in und umherhalb Rom, die das Kirchen Ansehen hat*, Rome, 1620, p. 91 ff.  
 SILVERIO, *Storia Chiesa*, 1640, p. 448 ff.  
 BONI, *Roma Subterranea*, 1622, p. 173 ff., esp. 176 f., 169, p. 247 ff., esp. 251 f.  
 ARDINO, *Roma subterranea*, 1651, I, pp. 134 ff.  
 DE ROSSI, *Roma Subterranea*, I, 1964, p. 180 ff.  
 FROELICH, *Inschriften*, XII, 1878, p. 142 ff.  
 LORÉ, "Das Aberglaube Gräber und Kirchen des Paulus und Petrus in Rom", *Zeitschrift für Archäologie*, 7 (1883), p. 1 ff.  
 DE WAAL, "Ein deutsches Itinerarium vom Jahre 1466 über die Katakomben von S. Sebastiano", *R.Q. Schr.*, 1 (1885), p. 59 ff.  
 DE WAAL, "Aus einem Latein- und germanischen Uebus des XIV Jahrhunderts", *ibid.*, 2 (1888), p. 81 ff.  
 BOFALLI AN. DE ROSSI, "Conference report", *B.A.C.*, ser. V, 2 (1891), p. 10 ff.  
 DE WAAL, "La Platonia, ossia il sepolcro apostolico della Via Appia", *Dis. Prot. Acad.*, ser. II, 4 (1892), p. 141 ff.  
 MARCONI, "Osservazioni intorno al cimitero delle Catacombe...", *R.Q. Schr.*, 6 (1891), p. 174 ff.  
 MARCONI, "Via Appia, Scavi nella Platonia presso il cimitero di S. Sebastiano sulla via Appia", *Mat. Sc.*, ser. IX, 10 (1892), p. 90 ff.  
 DE ROSSI, "Scoperta dell'epigrafe inedita del martire Quirino vescovo da Sicca nella Platonia a S. Sebastiano", *B.A.C.*, ser. V, 4 (1891), p. 137 ff.  
 NICHOLSON and KISSERLING, "Comments on De Waal's excavations of 1891", *Dis. Prot. Acad.*, ser. II, 5 (1893), p. 367 ff.  
 DE WAAL, "Die Apostelgräber ad Catacumbas", *R.Q. Schr.*, 8 (1891), supplement, p. 101 ff.  
 DE WAAL, "Die Platonia ad Catacumbas", *R.Q. Schr.*, 9 (1895), p. 111 ff.  
 GRASER, "Die Basilika Sebastianikirche und ihre Apostelgräber", *ibid.*, p. 469 ff.  
 DE WAAL, "Ein Bericht vom Jahre 1668 über die Katakomben von S. Sebastiano", *R.Q. Schr.*, 13 (1891), p. 125 ff.  
 COLAGROSSI, "Di un monumento recentemente scoperto presso il sepolcro apostolico dell'Appia", *A.B.A.C.*, 5 (1890), pp. 51 ff., 218.  
 MARCONI, "Breve nota sulle scoperte di S. Sebastiano descritte nel precedente articolo", *ibid.*, p. 63 ff.  
 FONSATELLI, *La Campagna Romana*, II, Rome, 1910, p. 21 ff.  
 COLAGROSSI, "Il graffito 'Domus Petri' scoperto nelle catacombe di S. Sebastiano", *Romano Tribuna*, 1912, pp. 78 ff., 69 ff., 146 ff., 26 ff., 2 (1913), pp. 73 ff., 121 ff.  
 WILPERT, "Domus Petri", *R.Q. Schr.*, 26 (1912), p. 117 ff.  
 DE WAAL, "Zu Wilpert's Domus Petri", *ibid.*, p. 123 ff.  
 LURANI, "La colombaia sull'Appia presso la basilica di S. Sebastiano", *Studi Romani*, 1 (1913), p. 375 ff.  
 PROFUMO, "La matassa monumentale in Catacumbas degli Apostoli Pietro e Paolo", *Studi Romani*, 1 (1914-15), p. 413 ff.

<sup>1</sup> The bibliography is limited to scholarly publications connected primarily with the architectural history of the church. Substantial portions of S. Sebastiano and popular generalizations are largely omitted.

- STRINZI, "Santo di S. Sebastiano. Scoperta di una memoria degli apostoli Pietro, Paolo e dei discepoli S. Pappiano nella cappella", *R. Ist. Vot.* 29 (1843), p. 71 ff.
- DE WOOD, "Gli scavi nel piazzale della Basilica di S. Sebastiano sulla Via Appia", *ibid.*, p. 143 ff.
- STRINZI, "Gli apostoli Pietro e Paolo ad Colaninibus sulla Via Appia", *ibid.*, p. 143 ff.
- STRINZI, "La pianta di S. Sebastiano", *ibid.*, p. 156 ff.
- STRINZI, "Il Religioso sepolcro in onore di S. Apostolo Pietro e Paolo nel sepolcro di Colaninibus", *ibid.*, p. 161 ff.
- DE WOOD, "Sankt Sebastians Graber und Gräber bei Colaninibus", *ibid.*, p. 160 ff.
- LEHMANN, *Die Kirche in Rom*, Bonn, 1925, revised ed. 1927, cited hereafter as LEHMANN, 1927; continuation, *Das Museum. Report on fragmentary graffiti found in the troika V.M.C. 22* (1916), p. 29 ff.
- MAZZIONI, "Scoperta recente presso la Basilica di S. Sebastiano", *ibid.*, p. 3 ff.
- MAZZIONI, "Dimostrazione dell'errore", *ibid.*, p. 29 ff.
- MAZZIONI, "Ulteriori osservazioni storiche e tecniche sulle scoperte di S. Sebastiano", *Bull. Com. II* (1917), p. 32 ff.
- KNOX, "Die christliche Denkmal der Apostel Petrus und Paulus in Colaninibus an der Apischen Straße in Rom", *R.M.* 80, 22 (1916), p. 3 ff.
- MAZZIONI, "Ulteriori studi storici e monumentali sulla memoria apostolica presso la catacombe della Via Appia", *A.L.C.* 28 (1917), p. 47 ff.; same argument also in *Dis. Pont. Acad.* 13 (1919), p. 264 ff.; *Giornale Litte.* di Faenza, 18 (1920), S. Sebastiano nella basilica dell'Appia a proposito del VII centenario della sua beatificazione; *Giornale Critico*, 1918, I, p. 549.
- STRINZI, "Il monumento apostolico della Via Appia", *Dis. Pont. Acad.* 13 (1919), p. 1 ff.; cited hereafter as STRINZI, 1919.
- BALDI, "De inscriptionibus relictis alla basilica di S. Sebastiano in Roma", *Dis. Pont. Acad.* 13 (1919), p. 127 ff.; *Atti del I. Istituto di. La Facoltà di Lettere in Roma*, 1925.
- MAZZIONI, "De via appiana ad religionem", al sepolcro apostolico dell'Appia", *Dis. Pont. Acad.* 14 (1920), p. 40 ff.
- LEHMANN, "La Memoria Apostolorum ad III miglio della Via Appia", *ibid.*, p. 202 ff.
- MAZZIONI, "La memoria sepolcrale degli Apostoli sulla Via Appia", *ibid.*, p. 247 ff.
- MAZZIONI, "La memoria sepolcrale degli Apostoli sulla Via Appia secondo il risultato delle ultime ricerche", *R.M.* 86, 19 (1922), p. 3 ff.
- MAZZIONI, "L'ipotesi con i sepolcri degli apostoli Pietro e Paolo scoperta sotto la basilica di S. Sebastiano", *R.M.* 86, 19 (1922), p. 3 ff.
- MAZZIONI, "De via appiana storica che può attribuire alla Basilica Apostolorum sulla Via Appia", *ibid.*, p. 61 ff.
- MAZZIONI, "Gli scavi fatti alla basilica di S. Sebastiano e la memoria sepolcrale degli apostoli Pietro e Paolo", *A.L.C.* 28 (1923), p. 3 ff.
- MAZZIONI, "La Memoria Apostolorum della Via Appia", *Mem. Pont. Acad.*, I, parti 2 (1923), p. 1 ff.
- MAZZIONI, "Sulla storia della Basilica di S. Sebastiano sull'Appia antica", *Vat. St.* 30, 20 (1924), p. 3 ff.
- MAZZIONI, "Sulla storia recente scoperte epigrafiche nello scavo di S. Sebastiano dalla commissione di Archeologia", *ibid.*, p. 10 ff.
- STRINZI, *Die Inschriftensammlung in der Via Appia, Rom*, 1924 (Italian transl., *Il monumento apostolico di San Sebastiano sulla Via Appia*, Rome, 1925, see the Italian edition).
- LEHMANN, *Die Kirche in Rom*, Bonn, 1928 (6th ed. 1957), cited hereafter as LEHMANN, 1927.
- VON GERKAN, *Die christlichen Anlagen unter S. Sebastiano*, in LEHMANN, 1927, p. 24 ff.
- BRUNO, *Mem.*, 1927, p. 167.
- MAZZIONI, "L'ipotesi di Strinzi", *Le Chiese di Roma Illustrate*, 21, Rome, 1928.
- MAZZIONI, "Le scoperte epigrafiche nel campionario della chiesa di San Sebastiano in Roma", *R.L.C.* 5 (1928), p. 1 ff.
- STRINZI, "Il sepolcro dei discepoli monumentale di San Sebastiano sulla via Appia", *ibid.*, 9 (1934), p. 102 ff.
- STRINZI, "S. Sebastiano. I ff. sul sepolcro monumentale in Roma", *Illustrazione Vaticana* 5 (1934), p. 34 ff.
- Scivola, *Accademia*, 1935.
- STRINZI, "L'ipotesi di Strinzi", *Giornale Litte.*, 1936 (Milano), "Amici delle Catacombe", 4, Rome, 1934.
- MAZZIONI, "Il sepolcro del compagno monaco reale di San Sebastiano sulla via Appia", *Atti del III Congresso Internazionale di Archeologia Cristiana (Sotto il Patronato Pontificio)*, VIII, Rome, 1934, p. 315 ff.
- BRUNO, *Memorie*, 1935, p. 3, ff.

- PRINZI, *Le Memorie Apostolorum di Colaninibus*, Roma, 1901 (revised edition, 2, Velletri, 1907), 1908.
- STRINZI, "Dalla Piramide a Roma: Scavi alla Via del IV miglio", *Civiltà Cattolica* 1917, IV, c. 130 ff.
- KOHNATZ, *Revue de l'Église de Rome*, *R. C.* 20 (1910), p. 142 ff.
- FERRAS, "Une nouvelle découverte sur l'apost. S. Sebastiano", *R. L.C.* 10 (1910), p. 144 ff.
- PRINZI, "Un altro scavo del 29 marzo 1912, relativo all'altare di S. Sebastiano nella chiesa omonima della Via Appia", *Illustrazione*, 1912(1911), p. 127 ff.
- ARPELLI-COSCIULLI, *Chiese*, 1912, p. 112 ff.
- BELVEDERI, "La tomba di S. Pietro e i cristiani lavati nelle grotte vaticane", *Avvisi degli amici delle Catacombe*, 1914, p. 31 ff.
- PRINZI, "Sulla rinvenzione della Memoria Martiana nella memoria apostolica di Colaninibus", *Bull. Pont. Acad.* 20 (1914-15), p. 145 ff.; same argument also in *Roma* 2, (1914), p. 142 ff.
- BRUNO, *Le tombe apostoliche nella palazzina Vaticana*, Vatican City, 1918, p. 150 ff.
- DEHMANN, *Evangelische Kirchen*, 1918, p. 29 ff.
- PRINZI, "La chiesa di S. Sebastiano", *Bull. Pont. Acad.* 25-26 (1919-20), p. 120 ff.
- HÄRTLING and KIRCHHOFF, *Die römischen Katakomben und ihre Martyr. Väter*, in pp. 56-59 ff.; *Die Römische Katakomben aus ihrer Alterth.*, transl. 188-194, Jena, 1916.
- PAULI, *La basilica degli Apostoli*, Rome, 1915.
- STRINZI, "Die Memoria Apostolorum an der Via Appia", *Abhandl. der Historisch-Geographisch-Anthropologischen Anstalt der Universität Göttingen*, N. F. 11, no. 3, p. 1 ff.
- FERRAS, "Tre sarcofagi di S. Sebastiano", *R.L.C.* 27 (1917), p. 7 ff.
- FERRAS, "Due mosaici da pagani cristiani presso S. Sebastiano", *R.L.C.* 29 (1919), p. 12 ff.
- MÜLLER, "Historisch-kritische Bemerkungen zum Ursprung der sog. 'Memoria Apostolorum' an der Apischen Straße", *Zeitschr. für christl. Archäologie*, II, 2, Bonn, in Hildesheim, 1924, p. 54 ff.
- TOLETTI, *Memorie degli apostoli in catacombe*, Collezione Amici delle Catacombe, 15, Vatican City, 1924 (previously published in 1918, *R.L.C.* 25 (1916), p. 7 ff.; 24 (1917), p. 3 ff.).
- MARIBEAU, "Les débris des galles de Saint-Sebastien", *Revue de la Société de l'Église et de la Basilique de Saint-Sebastien à Rome*, *La Vieille France*, 1925, p. 110 ff.
- TRINZI, "Notevole sulla Memoria Apostolorum in Colaninibus", *R.L.C.* 30 (1920), p. 104 ff.
- CARROTTI, *De Pythaeae sancti Apostoli*, Paris, 1926, p. 104 ff.
- KLAIBER, *Die römische Piramidendaten im Lichte der neuen Ausgrabungen unter der Piramidische Anbaugartenstadt* (in *Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen*, 24), Cologne-Opfaden, 1926, pp. 21 ff., 29 ff.
- FERRAS, "Scoperte fatte nel Lazio", in *Atti del I. Congresso Internazionale di Archeologia Cristiana*, 1934, Vatican City and Paris, 1935, p. 131 ff.
- MCCHESE, "Basiliche paleocristiane con ingressi a pilastro", *Atti. d'Ist. 91*, IV, 32 (1937), p. 103 ff.; esp. 137 ff.
- VON GERKAN, "Bischof et Turso consularis", *Bonner Jahrbücher* 178 (1937), p. 60 ff.
- MANSINI and PRINZI, *San Sebastiano fuori le mura* (Le Chiese di Roma Illustrate, 40), Roma, 1939, 1946 (basilica), 27 ff., MAXIMILIAN-PRESI.
- KIRCHHOFF, *The Tomb of St. Peter and St. Paul*, New York, 1939.
- FERRAS, "Lavori a San Sebastiano", *R.L.C.* 37 (1941), p. 203 ff.
- VON GERKAN, "Petris in Vaticano et in Colaninibus", *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christianum* 5 (1941), pp. 81 ff., 90 ff.
- KLAIBER, "Die Datierung der Aushilfsmaße-funde unter S. Sebastiano und am Vatikan", *ibid.*, p. 83 ff.
- FERRAS, "I lavori di Prati sotto il Cristo a S. Sebastiano", *R.L.C.* 40 (1944), 19, 20 ff.
- DESBOROUGH, "L'inscrizione Damascena Ad Colaninibus", *R.L.C.* 41 (1945), Miscellanea Jan II, p. 100 ff.
- FERRAS, *San Sebastiano fuori le mura e la sua catacomba*, *Le Chiese di Roma Illustrate*, 40, Roma, 1946.

## B. ANCIENT DESCRIPTIONS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

## 1. ANCIENT DESCRIPTIONS

- Vita beatorum Urbani Romani, San Sebastiano*, ed. De Rossi, *Roma Sacrasse*, I, p. 120.
- Epistole di Ieri sanctorum*, *ibid.*, p. 141.

<sup>1</sup> The author and bibliography see MANZONI-PRESI.







- 1511 Excavation of the San Sebastián Chapel in the north-western side of the main altar. Excavation of the floor and of the sacristy. The Chapel of San Sebastián (ed. by José María de Guebara, ed. Vasariss) appeared in number 1060 (p. 145).
- 1565 Excavation of the facade of San Sebastián. It resulted from the study of the facade of the main altar. It is worth mentioning that, after excavations and study of the facade, the facade was found to be a simple facade. *Panorama de España. Arquitectura*, vol. 10, no. 10, when writing his preliminary report. *Panorama de España*, vol. 10, no. 10, when writing his preliminary report.
- 1609-1612 The facade is completely remodelled by the design of Eduardo Parro. A fragment of the facade is shown in the facade of the main altar. *Boletín de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando*, vol. 10, no. 10, p. 100. The facade is remodelled by the design of Eduardo Parro. A fragment of the facade is shown in the facade of the main altar. *Boletín de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando*, vol. 10, no. 10, p. 100.
- 1665 The facade is remodelled by the design of Eduardo Parro. A fragment of the facade is shown in the facade of the main altar. *Boletín de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando*, vol. 10, no. 10, p. 100.
- 1672 The facade is remodelled by the design of Eduardo Parro. A fragment of the facade is shown in the facade of the main altar. *Boletín de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando*, vol. 10, no. 10, p. 100.
- 1712 The north wall of the north side of the original church is remodelled to make way for the north chapel of the Altare family, dedicated to Saint Eulalia, it was financed by Kirios XI and completed and decorated following plans of Carlo Fontana or Carlo Mattioli by Alessandro Spavento and Filippo Ruffini. *Forcella, Giovanni*, XII, p. 131; *Forcella, Giovanni*, XII, p. 131; *Forcella, Giovanni*, XII, p. 131.
- 1892-1894 Excavation of the facade of the church. *Forcella, Giovanni*, XII, p. 131; *Forcella, Giovanni*, XII, p. 131.
- 1908 Excavation of the facade of the church. *Forcella, Giovanni*, XII, p. 131; *Forcella, Giovanni*, XII, p. 131.
- 1915-1921 An extensive excavation campaign leads to the discovery of graves in the facade of the main altar and the facade of the church. *Forcella, Giovanni*, XII, p. 131; *Forcella, Giovanni*, XII, p. 131.
- 1923-1931 Excavation of the sacristy and altar.
- 1935-1936 Excavation of the facade of the church. *Forcella, Giovanni*, XII, p. 131; *Forcella, Giovanni*, XII, p. 131.
- 1952-1961 Excavation of the facade of the church. *Forcella, Giovanni*, XII, p. 131; *Forcella, Giovanni*, XII, p. 131.

*Forcella, Giovanni*, XII, p. 131; *Forcella, Giovanni*, XII, p. 131; *Forcella, Giovanni*, XII, p. 131.

#### D. GENERAL DESCRIPTION

The facade of S. Sebastián is located on the right side of the Via Alameda, about 100 m from the Plaza de San Sebastián. Opposite to the main altar, the facade of the church is located on the right side of the Via Alameda. The facade is located on the right side of the Via Alameda. The facade is located on the right side of the Via Alameda.

Set at right angles to the Via Alameda, the facade is situated between two streets, for convenience we will hereafter speak of the high altar as at the west end and the entrance at the east end of the complex.

The east facade, of early seventeenth century design, stands 22 m back from the road; it is about 2 m below the road and is preceded by a downward-sloping forecourt. The entrance is sheltered by an arched narthex (fig. 67) with a single large chamber above, approached by a staircase of oval plan (pl. VII). A single doorway opens into the nave, a spacious hall, whose walls are covered with seventeenth century stucco work (pl. III). The nave terminates at a chancel arch. Beyond it the chancel is square in plan, with diagonal corners. It is surmounted by a dome on pendentives, encaused in an octagonal drum and crowned by a tall octagonal lantern. The building of the facade and narthex, the remodeling of the nave and chancel and their decoration were financed by



Fig. 66. S. Sebastián. Exterior view of facade from north.



Fig. 67. S. Sebastián. View of portico from north.



Fig. 10. S. Maria della Pace. From Fig. 100.



Fig. 11. S. Maria della Pace. From Fig. 100.

Completed in 1500, Bramante designed the entrance porch and the choir, the vestibule, and associated galleries, and choir. As part of the remodeling Cardinal Borromeo had the bones of Saint Sebastian moved from their resting place below the high wall of the nave into the choir from the facade.<sup>17</sup> A few meters west from the entrance to the chapel of Saint Sebastian, two parallel stairs of different widths descend inside the nave to a large rectangular underground chamber, the crypt of Saint Sebastian, where his relics were sheltered until 1690.<sup>18</sup> Possibly enlarged from a catacomb gallery, it opens into the corridors of the choir, which exist below the east portion of the nave and 50 to south, east and north. Other stairs descend to the catacomb in the south of the nave, east of the chapel of Saint Sebastian, and on the north side near the middle of the nave. Some 100 meters west of the choir entrance, a few meters in front of the choir arch, an ornate opening flanked by columns of *opulidius* leads into the chapel of Saint Fabian, the mausoleum of the Albani family erected in 1738.<sup>19</sup> A plan of the church as it looked in 1617 appears in Faloutsch's survey (fig. 86).

The presence of the Crypt of Saint Sebastian and the other entrance to the catacomb, if nothing else, leave no doubt that the church must be much older than the early seventeenth century. Indeed, its layout prior to that time

is known from both literary and archaeological sources. The earliest written record of a structure on the site was the church and wall foundations built by a Lucanian lord in the sixth century. The church and wall foundations were built through a porch that was associated with the church and wall foundations. The porch was supported by six columns, the lower ones flanked by the side walls of the porch. The plan is typical of the medieval basilica in Rome, but was apparently common in 1315.<sup>20</sup> Three years descended from the forecourt to the south and was more than three times the church.<sup>21</sup> Hence, the forecourt was primarily on the level of the Via Appia, roughly 10 meters above street level. Above the eastern part of the apse, the old nave structure was often built in the (cave of a round arched window, thick-walled except for a small, arched Renaissance window, a large column appears in the center, flanked with thick, but it is not in open masonry. The entrance with the composition and further back with brick tiles, but it is not in open masonry. The plan of Saint Fabian rose in the middle of the nave, with the main part of the church in 1315, it had lost this position by 1379 and was then known as the church of Saint Fabian, while the plan in the apse, dedicated to Saint Stephen, had then become the high altar.<sup>22</sup> Two more altars rose in the Crypt of Saint Sebastian, one consecrated in 1300 and being built, believed by a copy, the other, of Saint Lucia, posed to it but being not and supposedly consecrated on November 14 of an unknown year by Pope Catherine.<sup>23</sup> Contemporarily, in the early sixteenth century the east half of the church was dedicated to Saint Fabian and Sebastian, the west half to the Pope Saint Stephen.<sup>24</sup> The floor of the crypt was paved with stone, with the main leading into it, the served the descent, the other the ascent.<sup>25</sup> Finally, according to Panvini, there were several altars placed against the walls of the nave.<sup>26</sup> On the facade, the sixteenth century window was a masonry mausoleum crowding against the side of the church. They also outlined that the nave was but part of a building originally provided with aisles and with an ambulatory enclosing the apse.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>17</sup> See Faloutsch, *St. Maria della Pace*, translated by Faloutsch, pp. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.



2.50–3.1 m below 1989 level, the memoria, the *trabea* and the courtyard, which were erected after the *peristyle* had been filled in. The memoria enclosure is bounded to the east by a wall which crosses the area of the nave from north to south, about halfway between the church façade and the apse. These elements will be discussed in the following pages only to the extent that they affect the structural history of the basilica. The excavations have also disclosed the substructures of the church itself, revealing large tracts of the foundation walls and the remains of many mausolea which were subsequently attached to its flanks. But before anything else could be uncovered, the excavators had to remove hundreds of graves which were crowded together over the whole area of the church floor (fig. 117*a* and *b*). In the east part of the nave, east of the transverse wall which bounds the memoria enclosure, the graves were in a single layer. On the other hand, west of the transverse wall and in the apse and north quadrant of the ambulatory, burials were discovered in four or five superimposed layers. The numerous dated epitaphs, reaching from 345 to 565 and found in part *in situ*, both in the basilica and in the adjoining mausolea, provide *termini post quem* and *in quoniam* for these structures.

## E. ANALYSIS

### 1. Antecedent buildings<sup>1</sup>

The lower levels of earlier occupation beneath the basilica are outside the scope of this work, and in describing them we confine ourselves to outlining their position in the area later occupied by the basilica. The hillside slopes up from south to north and more steeply from west to east. A Roman road, paved with small polygonal *stele* blocks, ascends the hill in its northerly course and passes close to the apex of the U-shaped outer wall<sup>2</sup> (pl. VII, fig. 92). At the point where its surface has been exposed, a little south of the axis of the basilica, the road lies 10 m. below the present nave floor.

### 2. THE VILLA

A building, generally referred to as a villa, stands on the east side of the road. Its façade is parallel with the curb of the road but is set back 1.70 m. Its style of masonry, rectilinear with tufa quoins, suggests a date in the first century A.D. The complex is approximately square in plan, measuring some 20 m. in each direction. Numerous chambers in at least two stories surround a central courtyard (fig. 101). Because of the inclination of the terrain, the court, paved with large white tesserae, lies about 3 m. higher than the road, between 6.80 m. and 6.90 m. below the church floor level. In relation to the subsequently built basilica, the villa corresponds in position approximately with the south half of the *«D»* which constitutes the west end of the U-shaped plan; its north wall is parallel with and 1.5 m. right of the central axis of the basilica. Tombs inserted in the steps which lead from the courtyard to the principal chamber of the villa suggest that the building may have served as a place of burial at an early date.

<sup>1</sup> The extensive reports on the hill will then find their most interesting interpretation, see the bibliography listed above, beginning with, and in particular, *Strenon*, 1928, 1931 and 1933, and *Gardner*, in *The Excavations*, II, 77; *Pravitt*, 1936 and 1940–41; *Sauerzberg*, 1931; *Donner*, 1933; *Kutschera*, 1936.

<sup>2</sup> The alignment of the ancient road is perpetuated today in the side road which leads from Via delle Sette Chiese to Cardinal Bagnani's Banque entrance to the Piazza.

## B. THE ARENAEUM

A tufa quarry, 20 metres own, lies east of the villa, though at a much lower level, 12.70 m. below the church floor<sup>3</sup>. Five corridors and some chamber-like indentations extended from a roughly pentagonal pit, the one to the east sheltering a simple grave. The date of the quarry cannot be determined, nor is it clear whether it preceded, followed or was contemporaneous with the building of the villa.

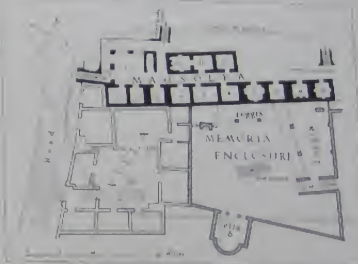


Fig. 92. N. Sebastiano VIII. quarry, plan and section, 1930.

## 3. ROMAN MAUSOLEA

### a. Northeast of the villa.

Anjoining the villa to the north, there extends a group of Roman tomb chambers<sup>4</sup> (pl. VII, fig. 92). They were approached from the road by a flight of steps which ascends east from the roadside to gain, after several turns, a small mosaic-paved courtyard, raised 2.75 m. above the level of the adjacent villa. The difference in level results in part from the gradient of the hill but also because the court lies over a tomb chamber on a lower level. Three mausolea lined the south side of the court, and a well-like system in the middle illuminated the burial chamber underneath. A passage opening from the southern corner of the court seems to have communicated indirectly with a street of tombs running east-west, nearly parallel with the alignment



Fig. 93. N. Sebastiano: looking through Villa courtyard and north doorway and through passage to grave chamber.

<sup>3</sup> *Strenon*, with pl. 56 (f. 1); *Donner*, 1933, p. 200; *Pravitt*, 1936, p. 104; *Gardner*, 1930, p. 107; *Strenon*, 1931, p. 107.

<sup>4</sup> *Mausolea*, pp. 107, 108, 110, 111.

of the facade. *Ruins of wall supporting vaulted tank over part of the eastern corner of the villa* (Fig. 1, 4) to be the wall which was built after 350 on the fourth side west of the fourth line enclosing the eastern temple area, since it rests on the foundations of the earlier walls.

#### 1. A. The villa of the emperor.

South of the main enclosure area and to the right a group of three-limbed Roman mansions have been discovered. They had been abandoned by 350, for the ground level was some time before the construction of the facade (Fig. 1, 5, 6; plans, 107). The eastern thresholds of these mansions, as far as they could be identified, were thus much lower than the street of tombs to the north. The ground level of these mansions is to be taken as determined by the level of the forum quay which was quite level. It is a series of small plots, the passages in front of the units. The units are covered mansions (Fig. 1) raised on high central walls, from which long flights of steps descended to the hallowish lower level of the street, which was in part inclosed into the courtyard and surrounding of the mansions. The walls of the stairs and their inclined barred walls are covered with rich stucco decorations. The mansions of the facade and the side of the staircase suggest a similar plan to the facade of the second century A.D. The three mansions were probably connected by a common loggia, with that of Clovis Hermes to the right (as we face the facade), containing both the bath and the *triclinium* and ending with the *Mausoleion* (Fig. 1). An exception to the arrangement of the mansions, dated 350, leaves no doubt that the mansions were still in use at this time, an important fact when taken together with Christian graffiti which was scratched on the staircase. Subsequently the situation was filled in completely and the mansions were buried to make a level area for the courtyard of the mansions.

#### 2. The forum (plans, 108).

##### (1) The gateway.

A number of the mansions opening to the east opened to the facade because the stair of a courtyard was constructed to that level and was, presumably in the course of the third century. At least two mansions behind the *Mausoleion* were enclosed with the street of tombs which stood above it (Fig. 1, 5). Most of the mansions are 11.5 m long, from the street and immediately adjacent to the facade, the latter by a single flight of steps which gives access to the courtyard. A similar gateway, partly enclosed by the two mansions near the eastern opposite mansions no. 116. A single mansions may have existed from the left in the same line occupied by the southeast corner of the facade. It presumably had had a gateway which was subsequently enlarged to form the crypt in the facade.

##### (2) The forum and its center.

The bath (plans, 109) constructed on the site before the facade was built is the *mausoleion*, comprising the *mausoleion* steps to the bath, the courtyard and to the east, the *thelia* (Fig. 1, VII, VIII) (plan, 111, 112). The main complex, however, of the villa and south of the street of

tombs but it is much higher, being 2 m. x 3 m. below the street level. The space of the *thelia* was filled in, stabilizing the structure by the facade (plan, 110). The *thelia* complex consisted of a trapezoidal enclosure measuring 25.5 m. from east to west and about 15 m. from north to south (Fig. 1, VII, VIII) (plans, 110, 111). The north side of the enclosure closed by the rear wall, an *orthostate* of the street of tombs (Fig. 1, 5). The east side is bounded by a wall 6.50 m. thick and built of *opus caementicium* consisting of small rubble stones. The wall was built at right angles to the street of tombs and it has, incorporated in the east wall of the *thelia*, a evidently existed before the villa was built and originate from the first century B. C. The east side of the enclosure is nearly parallel to the west wall and is built of the same *opus caementicium*. The south boundary also of the same material meets the west wall in an obtuse angle (Fig. 1), south of the *opus caementicium*. The aperture between the south and east walls has not yet been discovered, but if the walls were straight they would converge about 22 m. south of the street of tombs and about 2 m. inside the south wall of the present *thelia*.<sup>1</sup>



Fig. 111. 1. Mausoleion, Thelia, courtyard, and Thelia. 2. Thelia. 3. Thelia. 4. Thelia.

This trapezoidal enclosure on the hillside contained what might at first seem to be elements of a rustic *trullatio* (Fig. 1, 12). The central feature was a brick-paved courtyard. In its center a steep flight of steps descended into the north, leading to a small lock-in chamber, about 6 m. below the villa courtyard, with a spring of water (Fig. 1, 13) (Fig. 1, VIII). To the north and east, the courtyard was bounded by loggia. Their lean-to tiled roofs could not support pillars or form part of the perimeter walls at the back (Fig. 1, 14, 15, 16, 17). Upper walls show the traces of the mosaic loggia.<sup>2</sup> The rising terrain caused the eastern loggia (the *thelia*) to be raised above the rest of the courtyard. The east wall of this loggia crossed the axis of the present *thelia* about halfway between the facade and the apex. It is the eastern boundary of the enclosure and rises to within 0.3 m. of the present *thelia* floor (Fig. 1, VIII) (plans, 110, 111). The three *trullae* in the fresco represent birds, animals and flowers. But fragments of graffiti scratched into the fresco plaster invoke the names of Saint Peter and Saint Paul and refer to *trullatio* par. taken in their memory.<sup>3</sup> Hence, instead of an ordinary *trullatio*, the quadrilateral room here has a *memoria apostolorum* where Christians gathered to celebrate memorial banquets (*agape*) in honor of the Princes of the Apostles. The well (Fig. 1, VIII) (longitudinal section, Fig. 1, 13), rather close being the core from which the entire cult center developed,<sup>4</sup> was a natural nucleus to these *trullae*, as indicated by the Christian graffiti found in a niche halfway down the axis of the enclosure wall.

<sup>1</sup> See also the plan of the enclosure (Fig. 1, 11) and the plan of the enclosure (Fig. 1, 12) and the plan of the enclosure (Fig. 1, 13) and the plan of the enclosure (Fig. 1, 14) and the plan of the enclosure (Fig. 1, 15) and the plan of the enclosure (Fig. 1, 16) and the plan of the enclosure (Fig. 1, 17).

<sup>2</sup> See also the plan of the enclosure (Fig. 1, 18) and the plan of the enclosure (Fig. 1, 19).

<sup>3</sup> See also the plan of the enclosure (Fig. 1, 20) and the plan of the enclosure (Fig. 1, 21).

<sup>4</sup> See also the plan of the enclosure (Fig. 1, 22) and the plan of the enclosure (Fig. 1, 23).

<sup>5</sup> See also the plan of the enclosure (Fig. 1, 24) and the plan of the enclosure (Fig. 1, 25) and the plan of the enclosure (Fig. 1, 26) and the plan of the enclosure (Fig. 1, 27) and the plan of the enclosure (Fig. 1, 28) and the plan of the enclosure (Fig. 1, 29) and the plan of the enclosure (Fig. 1, 30).



Fig. 92. S. Schismos. Reconstruction of original courtyard with the outer enclosure.



Fig. 93. S. Schismos. The eastern memoria enclosed within ground, showing arches facing north. The eastern side is further back than the rest of the Roman enclosure, facing NW. (See page 141.)

the east. A red-brown fire-tile facing south was erected against the south side of this protuberance and to which a stair was inserted beneath the intrados of the antecedent vault (figs. 95, middle ground, section 94). The upper part of the monument has perished and we have no idea how

chamber. Since one of the apertures of the brick pavement is circular, it is correspondingly with A. D. into the enclosing masonry *speculum* that certainly have been known at that time.<sup>1</sup>

The courtyard in front of the *trabea* supplies further evidence of the area's religious character (figs. 92, 94). Adjacent to the villa, the west flank of the court had originally been occupied by a long barrel-vaulted chamber, 4 m. wide.<sup>2</sup> It abutted on the west against the villa wall, while to the east it was bounded by a neatly built brick wall (figs. 96, middle ground, 92B, figs. 96C), but in the final stage before the construction of the basilica, the ground level of the court had been raised to within 1.5 m. of the apex of the vault, and the vault and the greater part of the long chamber were demolished. The only thing left above ground was the north-entrant 2.5 m. of the concrete vault, which protruded above the brick pavement of the court to create a platform 1.5 m. high in the northeast corner of the memoria enclosure. The east side of the platform is formed by the wall of the chamber; its south side was merely the broken or rudely hacked end of the con-

<sup>1</sup> Mommse, *op. cit.* (1892). The brick pavement is described in *op. cit.* (1892), p. 102, fig. 102.

lish to west of the enclosure a low rectangular brick wall 97 m. long (middle ground, figs. 97, 98) was 1.05 m. in plan and another one in front. Within this block the lower level of the walls was 5.75 m. high, 0.25 m. above the brick pavement of the court. The opening of the masonry and the recess was engaged with masonry plates. Since the monument is only 4.50 m. wide while the anterior level vault spanned nearly 1 m., a small segmental space was left on either side. These passages were blocked up with rough walls of *opus testaceum*, resting on the earth which filled up the former chamber. Associated with the circular monument (the exact position of the discovery is not recorded), the excavators found part of a brick column shaft recessed with plaster and painted to represent marble, its overall diameter is 24.5 cm. It has been a roughly scratched inscription (writing . . . ΠΕΡΕΙ Ε ΠΑΥΣΙΣ ΜΕΜΕΙ-



Fig. 97. S. Schismos. Well built wall, showing the masonry and archaic brick construction with its wide top here (section 94B, 94C).

scripsi) (writing . . . ΠΕΡΕΙ Ε ΠΑΥΣΙΣ ΜΕΜΕΙ-

Another important feature of the memoria enclosure projected from its south side. Known as cella  $\delta$  it is a rectangular exedra apsed (pls. VII, VIII, transverse section, figs. 92, 94, 99).<sup>3</sup> The entrance to the cella is 3.80 m. wide and located 4.80 m. from the southwest corner of the enclosure. Two columns between the *ostia* divided it into a wide central opening flanked by narrower apertures. Figure 99 shows on the right, the base of the west column of cella  $\delta$ . Left of the 1 m. wall projecting from the *trabea* foundation of the basilica second from right on fig. 94, an aperture coincided with the east *anta*; the east column base is enclosed in the 1 m. wall. Internally, cella  $\delta$  is 4.50 m. wide and 3.80 m. deep; the apse has 2.40 m. in diameter. The walls, 0.58 m. thick, are brick-faced with accurately worked horizontal bonding and rather thick mortar beds, one course of brick and one of mortar having an average



Fig. 98. S. Schismos. Interior of cella.

<sup>2</sup> Section 94 (middle ground, fig. 94). The fragment which has been preserved is 1.05 m. in width. (Section 94, fig. 94B, 94C.)



thickness of 62.5 cm, the brick layers' technique characteristic of the late third or early fourth century. The outer perimeter wall of the memoria passes below the slosh facade and beyond it extends for the part of walling (fig. 5a). Two small semi-circular niches interrupt the base of the outer wall. There may also have been a third niche in the center line, where the situation of the type is destroyed. A rectangular recess opened in each lateral wall of the cella. Many graves were found in the cella, along with such lacked in the walls, four sarcophagi were also found, one of them inserted in the east wall. We do not know if the cella was originally built as a mausoleum or for some other purpose, but it evidently became a mausoleum before it was finally abandoned.



Fig. 5a. S. Sebastiano. Mausoleum, perspective, showing entrance in south and flight of stairs and landing (left) leading toward cella and reconstruction of cella (right).

Below the *cella*, which lies somewhat higher than the other parts of the enclosure. Considering that the terrain ascends from west to east, the slope leading down from the east into the memoria (referred) suggest that the *cella* wall on the east flank of the enclosure was the retaining wall of a terrace. Therefore the ground east of the *memoria apudolarum* lay at least at the level of the present church floor or perhaps even higher. Subsequent developments, such as the leveling of the field for the construction of the basilica, the excavation of the Crypt of S. Sebastian below the southeast quarter of the nave, and the building of stairs descending to the crypt, have destroyed everything that formerly stood in the east part of the site. On the other hand, the steep descent of the hillside toward the west and south has resulted in the preservation of the buildings, including the *memoria apudolarum*, which existed below the west part of the basilica.

## 2. The basilica

The basilica was erected above the buildings described in the preceding section, engulfing them in its foundations and, in course of time, obliterating them completely. Its U-shaped plan was composed of the following elements: the nave, corresponding to the present church nave; the south aisle, now the site now occupied by the right transept and souvenir shop at the entrance to the catacombs, continuing also into the zone of the present sacristy and beyond it, an ambulatory, used at present as a restroom, the north aisle, corresponding to the Albani chapel and the northeast lapidarium, finally, an east aisle, part of the area now occupied by the narthex (pls. VII, VIII; figs. 30a, b, 122).

The aisles are separated from the nave by rows of masonry piers which sweep around at the

west end by the hemispherical cover, approximately continuous with the perimeter wall. To the exterior, the nave is marked by the ambulatory piers; it is approximately elliptical, while the curvature of the perimeter wall is the arc of a circle slightly greater in diameter than the breadth of the whole building (pl. VII).

The overall width of the basilica is 20.5 m, while the total length exceeds 65 m. Aisles and ambulatory vary in breadth from 5.5 to 7.5 m. Their narrowest point is in the ambulatory along the eastern line of the building.

The floor level of the church is a little below the natural surface of the ground at the east end, but the inclination of the hillside causes it to be 10 m above ground level at the west end (pl. VIII). Consequently the west part of the building is raised on high foundation walls which enclose and conserve the remains of the antecedent buildings lying within their circuit. The breadth of the basilica extends from the western end of the memoria enclosure to a little beyond the south border of the same enclosure. In its length, the apex of the western curve almost coincides with the steep wall of the *cella*, while the east end of the basilica lies far to the east of the memoria enclosure with the east boundary of the enclosure crossing the nave about half way along its length. The foundation of the west pier on the north side of the basilica coincides with the last between the parallel rows of consecutive mausoles. The foundations of the left nave pier pass somewhat inside of the western enclosure. They partly intersect the stairs to the spring chamber, but not to the extent that the stairs could not be used. In fact, a special passage was built so that the stairs to the spring chamber could be accessible from outside the basilica<sup>1</sup>. The curved foundation wall of the southern part of piers intersects and completely disrupts the plan of the *cella*, but again provision was made so that the well could also still be reached from the level of the *cella* (compared on pl. VII; fig. 127).



Fig. 5b. S. Sebastiano. Model of building, exterior, west end.



Fig. 5c. S. Sebastiano. Section of building, exterior, facing south.

#### 17. THE PERIMETER WALLS, SUBSTRUCTURES

The 180 embasement of the perimeter walls in the southwest part of the building (see also fig. 16) runs for most part of the south axis and throughout the curved ambulatory. They are visible only because the earth fill upon which and ambulatory floors formerly existed, was removed by the excavation of 1913 (p. 103), revealing the south part of the masonry enclosure and the remains of the original villa (figs. 97-99, 101). In reconstructing the floor, the excavators supported



FIG. 16. S. Sebastiano. Ambulatory wall and foundations with fragments of original remains of villa.

it on beams, so that the area below remains open for study. The east half of the south perimeter wall is now excavated; it is built beneath the adjacent masonry buildings, but the early fabric emerges into view below floor level, immediately west of the campanile, about 40 m. from the east facade and 20 m. from the beginning of the western curve (fig. 102). At this point the perimeter foundations rest on natural tufa at a depth of 5.20 m. below the nave floor. In the ambulatory as well as in the south perimeter wall, for a height of 1.50 m., that is up to 3.70 m. below floor level, the structure is built of squared tufa blocks of medium size, with occasional brick courses. Here the wall has a thickness of about 0.90 m., but above its thickness diminishes to 0.50 m., and it is built in *opus listatum* with a regular alternation of brick and *opus* courses (figs. 103, 104). The modulus of construction of each material plus two mortar beds averages 0.75 m. At present, starting from 0.60 m. to 2.30 m., the interior face of the foundation wall is strengthened by projecting rows of masonry about 0.85 m. long and 0.44 m. thick. They are identical in construction with, and reversely bonded to, the perimeter wall. Thus the internal face of the foundation wall is formed into a series of embasements intended for burial; indeed, they are subdivided by iron tally marks (*bedae* or *bedae*), defined by slightly projecting brick courses (pls. VII-VIII; figs. 101, 102, 103). When excavated, many of the *bedae* were found intact, including their light brown (stone) walls of rubble and mortar (fig. 103; right edge, background); they have been preserved, supported on wood beams (fig. 103; right edge, 104). It is important to note that these *bedae* in the perimeter wall exist at a considerable depth below the level of the present nave pavement, the deepest being 3.60 m. below floor level.

The eastern part of the place where the south perimeter foundation wall emerges from the later foundations which enclosed it in the east part of the church, it overlaps the oblique south boundary wall of the *terracina* enclosure. The junction of the two walls is masked by one of the *bedae* (in wall 10) in the third from the left in fig. 101; see also pl. VIII). The summit of the bottom zone of the foundation wall, at 2.90 m. below the present floor level, coincides with the threshold of cella 6<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also above, p. 100, fig. 102. Foundation of the perimeter wall (left) in fig. 101. Cf. also above, p. 100, fig. 102. Foundation of the perimeter wall (left) in fig. 101. Cf. also above, p. 100, fig. 102. Foundation of the perimeter wall (left) in fig. 101.

of the walls in the area of the former walls, the foundations of the original west perimeter wall are seen at the level of the villa described (fig. 104). For a length of 2.00 m. above the Roman mosaic pavement the perimeter wall foundations are of rough surfaced concrete. Above this footing the foundation wall, 0.60 m. thick, is built in the same *opus listatum* masonry above. However, the fin wall embasements in this sector were not part of the original design of the basilica, but were added as an afterthought when the foundations had already reached a certain height. The wrought



FIG. 16. S. Sebastiano. Detail of the wall and foundations of the west wall of the nave and remains of the original villa.

*listatum* of the fin begins only 2.60 m. below the present nave floor (fig. 104, near top); the part of the fin which lies between the trench-cast footing and the base of the *listatum* is rudely, but strongly built with large pieces of rubble. The lowest tier of *bedae* corresponds with the top of the rubble, and it is obvious from this that there must have been a stage in the development of this part of the basilica when the floor lay only a foot or two above the top of the rubble zone of the fins, that is about 3 m. below present floor level; otherwise the lower *bedae* could not have been used.



FIG. 16. S. Sebastiano. Area below main aisle corresponding to part of cella 6 and of left hand, with south side wall, right hand wall, and remains of the original villa.

Along the inner face of the west perimeter foundations, following the curve of the ambulatory, the series of vertical fin with shell-like *bedae* continues as described until the original structure disappears from view, engulfed in the eighteenth century foundations of the west wall of this sacristy, the original foundations of the perimeter wall is masked by the remains of a small oblique-walled rectangular tomb chamber (fig. VII). To judge by its brickwork, it is of Early Christian date. As elsewhere, the original floor

East of the concrete foundations of the west wall of this sacristy, the original foundations of the perimeter wall is masked by the remains of a small oblique-walled rectangular tomb chamber (fig. VII). To judge by its brickwork, it is of Early Christian date. As elsewhere, the original floor

level at this part of the ambulatory is 2.00 m. below the present one, as demonstrated by the remains of the lower walls on the southwest side (below 11). On the other hand, since the walls are brick-laid on the inside, only the rectangular tomb must have been built along level 1. It therefore ends near the level of the basic pavement at a second stage of evolution, when the level corresponded approximately with the present one. Last of the rectangular tomb a narrow passage leads north into the *arcosolia*, probably it existed before the *basilica* was built.<sup>1</sup> Beyond this, the west half of the north perimeter wall has been completely obliterated by the Alhami chapel.

### 9. THE PERIMETER WALLS' SUPERSTRUCTURE

#### a. The ambulatory walls

Above the level of the modern ambulatory floor (now supported over the excavated area on an reinforced concrete bridge), the curved west perimeter wall stands nearly 3 m. at its highest point, which seems to be not far short of the original elevation. The fins (continued above floor



Fig. 104. S. Sebastianus' Ambulatory, showing scars of 8th walls with present floor.

level) at this part of the ambulatory 2.00 m. below the present one, as demonstrated by the remains of the lower walls on the southwest side (below 11). On the other hand, since the walls are brick-laid on the inside, only the rectangular tomb must have been built along level 1. It therefore ends near the level of the basic pavement at a second stage of evolution, when the level corresponded approximately with the present one. Last of the rectangular tomb a narrow passage leads north into the *arcosolia*, probably it existed before the *basilica* was built.<sup>1</sup> Beyond this, the west half of the north perimeter wall has been completely obliterated by the Alhami chapel.

Less than a meter from the point where it must originally have merged into the rectilinear north wall of the aisle, the curved perimeter wall is engulfed, both above and below floor level, in the eighteenth century masonry of the Alhami sacristy.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 172.

#### a. The south wall

The east half of the south wall was excavated in 1930 and its remains are now incorporated into the structure of a modern lapidarium, which stands to the right of the nave in place of the original north aisle. The base of the perimeter wall rests on rock a few centimeters below floor level, while the foundations at the southwest corner of the *basilica* are more than 10 m. deeper, on account of the sloping terrain mentioned above. As in the south aisle and western ambulatory, the interior face of the north wall is divided by fins into a series of embrasures for *loculi*. In its east half, parts of three survive above floor level, and traces of many others were noted in the footings of the west half at the time of excavation<sup>1</sup>. At the northeast corner of the *basilica* the original *opus testatum*, although repaired and rebuilt, stands to a height of nearly 2.20 m. (fig. 105). The re-entrant angle of the building forms a square corner pier, which corresponds with the fins and terminates the series of *loculus* embrasures. The curve of the intrados of this last *arcosolium*



Fig. 105. S. Sebastianus' South Lapidarium from Mausoleum of the First No. 1000, in the town, showing the walls' traces' and the modern Alhami sacristy.



Fig. 106. S. Sebastianus' Perimeter, part of *basilica* *opus testatum* and under south wall of Mausoleum of the First Sacristy.

was found in 1917 to start at a height of 1.50 m. above the present floor. East of this pier, the *testatum* face of the east perimeter wall rose vertically with no sign of an *arcosolium*. This it appears that the east wall of the *basilica* was not provided with *loculi*. A doorway in the east wall leads to a rectilinear, brick mausoleum, accommodating five sarcophagi (pl. VII, nos 3, 4, figs. 195, 196), an addition to the east end of the north aisle. On the other hand, a small apsed mausoleum, its axis diverging slightly from that of the *basilica*, projects north at the northeast corner of the *ba-*

<sup>1</sup> They are numbered in successive sequence on pp. 176-177.

plans must agree that the southern side of VII, nos. 142. Indeed, the oblique construction of the north wall of the mausoleum beneath the masonry of the basilica wall (fig. 102) could well have probably pulled down when the construction of the basilica wall proceeded to the north. Since the west wall of the mausoleum continues south far enough to join the basilica wall, it seems that there must originally have been some kind of embrasure in the southwest corner, probably the *arcaded* doorway.

### 3. The east wall

The alignment of the east perimeter wall of the basilica is indicated by the doorway of the rectangular mausoleum of the five sarcophagi, whose threshold is *in situ*, and by a fragment of *testaceo* masonry, built first in the western wall of the north lapidarium, which protrudes into the northwest corner of the forecourt (pl. VII, fig. 104). This projecting wall makes an angle of 80° with the south perimeter wall. The exterior northeast corner of the basilica can be seen from the north side (fig. 122) as well as from the northern mausoleum, where the later masonry is broken away 2.55 m. south of this corner; the *opus listatum* of the east wall ceases in a vertical jamb. The brick floor just south of the mausoleum was subsequently built against this jamb, and it is thus clear that the entrance to the mausoleum was set into a wider opening of earlier date (fig. 105). The other jamb of this opening remaining in the basilica wall is represented by three or four courses of *testaceo* masonry high into the masonry framework at the southeast corner of the north lapidarium. These show that the width of the original opening was 3.35 m. Further south, a second opening in the east wall of the basilica is indicated by the worked south face of the other end of the same fragment of *testaceo* masonry wall in the forecourt (fig. 106). On the basis of these two known openings, one of which is 3.35 m. wide, at the intervening pier measuring 1.65 m. from south to south, and the known total breadth of the basilica, it is fairly safe to deduce that the east wall of the basilica was pierced by a row of five openings, presumably spanned by arches. The foundations of the middle part of the arcade stand across the forecourt about 3 m. in front of the Baroque narthex, but they have not yet been uncovered. However, near the southeast corner of the basilica, a record of a foundation in an appropriate position appears in Fornari's plan<sup>1</sup> (see on pl. VII). At this point the plan perimeter wall constituted the façade of another contiguous mausoleum; part of its apical east wall is still discernible above ground level, embedded in the south wall of the forecourt. Argemone Fornari excavated the south half of the apse and the south wall of the mausoleum in the eastern north of the forecourt, but these features are no longer visible. The south-eastern part of the five vaulted arches must have been walled up before this mausoleum was built, as its position does not correspond with the presumed south opening. Fornari also shows a short tract of masonry, appearing in the line of the south perimeter wall just where the corner of the original basilica must have been; it is probably related to certain reinforcements inserted at an unspecified point in the rock-hewn catacomb galleries which lie beneath.

### 4. The west wall

The alignment of the south perimeter wall is established along its entire length by its foundation wall (nos. 102, 101). But above ground only two elements survive: the small tract of masonry at its east end, identified by Fornari but no longer visible, and a stretch of wall, just east of the mausoleum, across the line of the church, below which the triple arcade of the large apsed mausoleum (no. 43) had later inserted (fig. 122).

<sup>1</sup> Fornari, *op. cit.*, plan no. 10.

## NAVE ARCADES AND CRYPTICUS PASSAGE

### 1. The south side to the nave

The south side of the nave clearly shows the spacing and the orientation of the windows. In the east part of the church, the arcades have not been exposed, but the outlines of first Christian windows are visible externally (pl. VIII). In the west half, on the other hand, the south arcade has been fully exposed in the wall of the south lapidarium (pl. VIII, fig. 107). In one of the later remodelings of the nave interior, certainly before the seventeenth century, the original

Fig. 107. S. Sebastiano. South arcade (lapidarium), facing east, showing the full structure of nave and sub-structure.



Photo. Arch. Civ. di Roma.



Photo. Arch. Civ. di Roma.

Fig. 108. S. Sebastiano. Apsidal nave (triple arcade), showing the full structure of nave.



Photo. Arch. Civ. di Roma.

Fig. 109. S. Sebastiano. Greater or subsidiary nave, showing mosaic covering.



Fig. 100. S. Sabina. Base of piers 8 and 9 and 10. Below, ambulatory; above, tribuna and upper left, narthex.

ambulatory, is represented by its southeast corner, which appears in the north wall of the naos aisle staircase. Piers 8, 9 and 10 are seen in the wall of the south lapidarium (figs. 102, right edge; 103, left edge; 107). West of the tenth pier the character of the arading changes, as will be described below.

The piers measure 1.57 m. by 0.89 m. in plan, and are spaced at intervals which seem to vary between 4.30 m. and 4.60 m. The spacing of the piers and arcades which remain visible from the plane of the inner east façade of the nave to the seventeenth century chancel pier, an overall distance of 17.36 m., suggests the stretch originally had nine arches and ten piers, including the southeast corner pier. The arches which spring from the piers have fully semicircular archivolts of carefully set bipedals which rise to an intrados apex 5.70 m. above the present nave floor level (pl. VIII, figs. 108, 109). The lowest voussoir bricks lie 4 m. above floor level. But the springing seems lower than it really is because, 4.30 m. above the floor, three projecting courses of brickwork have been inserted, forming cornices 0.70 m. below the true springing of the arches, which thus appear stilted.

It is important to note that the bases of piers 6 through 10 do not correspond with the present floor level. Below the surface of the floor, in the excavated area beneath the south lapidarium, the vertical sides of each pier continue down 2.02 m. more before coming to the top of the stylobate wall with which they rest (pl. VIII; figs. 102, right edge; 103, left edge). This level corresponds approximately with the pavement of the tribuna of the antecedent memoria enclosure. In its upper part the *opus listatum* stylobate has the same thickness as the nave piers, ca. 0.90 m. Its surface is defined by a course of bipedals which passes through the base of each pier. Below the present floor level the openings between the original piers are blocked up with later construction; the lower strata of these appear to be burial loculi and tombs. Conspicuous among them is a rectangular white marble sarcophagus in the interval between piers 10 and 11 (figs. 103, left hand; 110). At a depth of 0.85 m. beneath the bipedal surface of the stylobate, the foundation wall becomes thicker. Its

<sup>1</sup> Pallas, *op. cit.*, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

north face is concealed by later foundations, doubt its position of the *opus listatum* floor. But the south face shows a set back of 0.13 m. and a 10% below this level. The *opus listatum* masonry disappears behind the structure of a massive tunnel built in five continuous sections, the main wall in the memoria complex which led to the spring below and afterwards of the memoria enclosure.<sup>1</sup>

Indeed, in order to make the floor of the basilica level the low-lying ground enclosed by the south and west perimeter wall foundations had to be filled in with earth, increasing the remains of the villa and memoria enclosure. But before that was done, the wellhead to the villa reservoir was protected by a vaulted construction from which a curved passage (pl. VII, fig. 127) led horizontally to an opening in the perimeter foundations. Thus the well remained accessible from the outside through the passage, although it was buried several meters below the basilica floor. Because of subsequent terracing of the land south of the church, the doorways to the passage are far below the present surface of the ground, but we presume that originally the fall of the land left the passage doorway but little, if at all, below ground level. The well was not only accessible from outside the basilica through this lateral tunnel; the well shaft was extended vertically up to the level of the church floor, so that the spring could be reached from inside the church as well. It is not clear if the vertical extension is contemporaneous with the horizontal tunnel, or if it is later. The rock-hewn stairway leading from the memoria courtyard down to the spring was similarly protected with a passage through which it could be approached from outside the basilica wall after the memoria had been buried below the floor. The summit of the flight of steps, partly restricted by the entrenchment of the nave arcade foundation wall, was enclosed in a barrel-vaulted chamber (fig. 105) from which a vaulted passage 1.05 m. wide and 3.20 m. high led diagonally below the zone of the aisle and debouched through a doorway in the perimeter foundation wall a few meters to the west of coils  $\delta$ . At its highest point the extrados of the vault lies about 1.70 m. below the level of the nave arcade stylobates.

#### 4. The ambulatory

The tenth pier, although one entire bay east of the ambulatory, carries a vaulted arch which marks the end of the ordinary arcade of the nave and the beginning of the taller and narrower arcade peculiar to the ambulatory and to the last of the nave. While the ordinary nave piers are spaced at least 4.30 m. apart, the rectilinear interval between piers 10 and 11, and the curved intervals between the ambulatory piers, 12 through 16, are considerably narrower, only 2.00 to 0.70 m. Moreover, the ordinary nave arch rises to an apex 5.70 m. above the present floor, while the apex of the ambulatory arches and of arch (101) is 0.45 m. higher. However, the cornice of the pier remains at the same level as before, and the entire height of the archivolts is achieved by higher tilting between the cornice and the true springing (pls. VII, VIII; longitudinal section).

The foundation wall on which the ambulatory piers stand is exposed in the *opus listatum* (fig. 101). At the level of the courtyard pavement, where the masonry probably rests on rocks, the base of the U-shaped wall is formed with two or three courses of big lumps of tufa set in concrete. This part of the foundation wall is 1.30 m. thick and rises 0.55 m. above the villa pavement. Above, the wall is reduced in thickness to 0.90 m. and is constructed in slightly smaller pieces of tufa until it attains a height of 3.35 m. above the villa level. From this level to the pavement of the basilica, 2.50 m. up, it is built in *opus listatum*. The 15 cm. above in the stylobate wall merges below piers 9 and 10 fades away in the region of pier 11, and west of this the wall face is more or less

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 173.

vertical, except for the difference between the side bays in the lower part of the U-shaped wall and the U-shaped masonry in the upper part.

As with the intervals between piers 6 through 10, the summit of the stylobate wall and the bases of piers 10, 11 and 12 lie close to the present floor level. The white marble sarcophagi, found above, fill the interval between the



Fig. 11. S. Basilica. Ambulatory pier with central blindfold, standing north.

eleventh and twelfth piers, contains a brick-bull grave (Figs. 10, 11, left edge, 11). However, west and north of pier 12, throughout the ambulatory, the top of the curved stylobate wall corresponds with the level of the present church floor. Hence the original floor level seems to have been much the same as it is today in the western part of the ambulatory, but, for some reason as yet unexplained, the floor lay two meters lower in the area adjoining piers 6 through 11, extending as far as the east side of pier 12. The level of this sunken area of the original basicalia lavary thus corresponds with the brick pavement of the *trabea*. Thus, the *trabea* may have remained open and accessible for a certain period of time after the construction of the basilica.

The piers of the ambulatory arcades are seen in the wall of the lapidarium (figs. 102, 108, 109). Of piers 12 and 13 only the extreme southeast and north-east corners survive; the remainder was demolished when a rectangular chamber was inserted (fig. 89); it was in turn removed after 1017.<sup>11</sup> Pier 14 stands on the center line of the basilica; the removal of some

late masonry which formerly blocked the interval between piers 14 and 15 has revealed fragments of stilted masonry in which marble panels and tiles are imbedded in fresco (fig. 131). East of pier 15 the original masonry on both sides of the ambulatory and side disappear in the Baroque reconstruction of the Albani chapel and apse. Consequently, we have no knowledge of piers 17 and 18, but presumably they correspond on the north side of the basilica with piers 10 and 11 on the south side; presumably also, their arches rose to the same level as those in the rest of the ambulatory, that is, above the present floor level, 0.35 m. higher than the arcades of the nave.

The ambulatory zone was thus distinguished from the rectilinear part of the U-shaped basilica by its taller and narrower arcades. It also seems to have been defined by some kind of transverse frame which crossed the space of piers 10 and 12, approximately where the Baroque channel arch now stands. This feature has disappeared and is represented only by two balks of trench-case foundation concrete, composed mainly of lumps of *opus caementicium*, which pass down beside the structure of the anteflexion villa. They are roughly square in plan, measuring about 1.80 m., and symmetrically disposed about 3.5 m. apart on either side of the central axis of the church. About 1 m. below floor level the cast concrete is replaced by brickwork which seems more likely to be Baroque than antique. The balks look as though they may be foundations for two large columns, such as might have sustained a triple-arched screen. Nevertheless, it is clear that this transverse element was not an original feature of the basilica. The foundation walls of the perimeter and of the ambulatory arcades were built up from rock level by masons working freely in the open or

only slightly hampered by the need to compress or work the width of the rocky and ultimately crumbly, but the fragmentary masonry formed by compression may now sleep today, concealed in the earth fill beneath which the side and ambulatory walls have been buried. Hence the transverse feature must be regarded as an addition to the original plan of the U-shaped basilica.

### 3 The south aisle.

Little is now visible of the row of piers which dropped the nave from the north aisle. Piers 18 and 19 were removed when the Baroque entrance to the Albani chapel was made, but their lower courses of *opus testaceum* are visible from the south in the recessed wall which depicted the east view of Roman roads, in front of inscribed nos. 2, 6, and 7 (pl. VII, fig. 62). At the south arcade these piers continue down to a depth of 3 m. below the present floor level before reaching the supporting stylobate wall, built of large unworked blocks of rubble and terminating in a ceiling of bipedals. Again like the south arcade, the intervals between the piers are filled with graves placed on top of the stylobate. At 18 have the stylobate wall probably rested on rock, or possibly on the *selis* pavement of the street of *sanctus*. Pier 21 is nowhere visible, but the north faces of piers 22 and 23 are identifiable in the wall flanking the stairs at the west end of the north lapidarium. These lead down 85 paces the area of flags or rock-hewn steps whereby the catacombs gallery appears to have been entered even in the days when the street of *mausolea* stood *sub domo*.<sup>12</sup> Piers 24 and 25 have disappeared in the seventeenth-century construction of an apsidal side chapel. Finally, piers 26 and 27 (the northeast corner pier) built in the usual *opus testaceum* are preserved in the wall of the north lapidarium (fig. 100). Underneath the surface of floor level between piers 27 and 28 has not been seen, and no level is indicated.

These 27 masonry piers surrounding the nave in a U-shaped plan supported arcades of roughly-set bipedals. The intrados of the arches flanking the nave rose to an apex 1.50 m. above the present floor; those of the ambulatory to 0.57 m., those of the side walls to about 2.50 m.<sup>13</sup> The spanrels of the nave archivolts expanded in the north lapidarium (fig. 100) are built of *opus testaceum*. They are in the same vertical plane as the archivolts, but about three-quarters of the height of the extrados, above this level, to a zone 0.70 m. in height, the *longum* wall face is backed away, leaving the concrete core exposed. Above this zone the *longum* wall face is returned to a different plane, set back about 0.25 m. behind the face of the archivolts. Presumably the *arcades* and



Fig. 11. S. Basilica. Stone wall, viewed from above, of lapidarium, containing many graves (see east window).

<sup>11</sup> See *Annuario*, *Trattato* no. 11, *anno* 1877.

<sup>12</sup> It is difficult to identify this place because the ground between the street and the wall is covered by a pavement of large stones.

<sup>13</sup> See *anno* 1871.

<sup>14</sup> See above pp. 104-105, below p. 105.

spanners have the same thickness as the piers which support them (fig. 10) and the zone of expanded concrete marks the level at which the wall thickness was reduced in order to lighten the weight of the clerestory roof, originally there must have been a horizontal ledge 0.65 m. wide at the top of this zone. The reduction in the thickness of the wall probably occurs only on the aisle

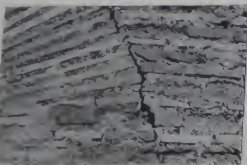


Fig. 113. S. Silvestro. Clerestory window, exterior (cf. fig. 6).



Fig. 114. S. Silvestro. Exterior facade of the nave (cf. fig. 6). The window is the clerestory window and the arches are the arches of the nave arcade.

clerestory walls have almost to the eaves of the present roof (figs. 97, 114).

Although they are blocked up, many of the original clerestory windows are identifiable. In the straight-sided part of the basilica one window corresponded with each arch of the nave arcade (fig. 113). On the other hand, in the ambulatory, where the arcades are taller and narrower, the windows are disposed above alternate arches, except for the two arches flanking the central pier on the long axis of the church; each of these was surmounted by a clerestory window (fig. 97). Thus the west end of the basilica had a pair of clerestory windows close together; these were flanked by windowless piers in the diagonal sections of the ambulatory curve; then there were windows above arches 11-12 and 16-17, no openings over arches 10-11 and 17-18 and, finally, a window over every arch from piers 16 and 18 to the east façade.

side of the arcade, since a set back would be unsightly in the nave. Hence we may conclude that the clerestory walls are about 0.65 m. or 2 1/2 R. O. thick. The thickness cannot be measured directly because the whole interior of the clerestory is masked by the Baroque decorations of the nave (pl. II, transverse section).

#### 4. The clerestory windows

The exterior of the upper part of the clerestory wall can be closely examined by standing on the aisle roof. The masonry is the same *opus testatum* as noted in the lower parts of the basilica, with alternating courses of *tufo* and brick, two courses of each material plus four courses of mortar have a height of 0.305 m. Pink, yellow and red bricks are indiscriminately mixed and the *tufo* is both yellow and brown; hence it is likely all the material used was second hand (fig. 113). The walls of this masonry rise 12.60 m. above floor level and they may even be slightly higher, since at this height the ancient masonry disappears behind a Baroque cornice. In any case, the original *testatum*

All the clerestory windows open at about the same level, except for those of the east façade, which start somewhat higher. The height of the windows on the long side sills and raised end wall is at least 2.20 m.; it cannot be accurately measured because the window sills are hidden by the aisle roof. The openings of the side walls vary in width from 1.10 to 1.77 m., while those of the western curve are slightly narrower, 1.40 m. and 1.55 m. The windows are built in masonry with radially set bricks that are 0.52 m. long (fig. 114). The archivolts are not fully semicircular but are slightly depressed to give an elliptical outline; this is further emphasized at the springing where the lowest arch brick is tilted up and supported by a wedge-shaped unit of the horizontal course, a peculiarity which we shall likewise note in the three windows of the east façade<sup>1</sup>. The vertical sides of the window opening continue directly into the curve of the intrados without the usual setback (fig. 114).

#### 5. The nave façade

Whereas the outer east wall with its five presumed arches has almost disappeared, the corresponding inner nave wall still exists sandwiched between the Baroque narthex and the nave. Standing at right angles to the north and south side walls, it is not visible with the east perimeter wall. It was seen in 1926, when the plaster was stripped from the west side of the large chamber over the Baroque narthex (fig. 115). Both of *opus testatum* of the type noted throughout the basilica, the wall was pierced at clerestory level by three large windows<sup>2</sup>. The middle window was 1.60 m. wide and 1.32 m. high; those on the sides were slightly smaller, 1.00 m. by 1.25 m. The springing of the window arches lies about 11.30 m. above the floor of the nave and is marked by a double course of brick in the *testatum* masonry. As throughout the church, the vertical line of the window jamb merges into the arch without the setback usually found in fourth and fifth century windows in Rome. Again as in the nave, the archivolts are slightly depressed to give an elliptical outline in place of the usual semicircle. This is a deliberate feature and not a mistake or a consequence of settling, because at the point where the lowest arch brick rests on the vertical jamb it is tilted up by means of a wedge-shaped unit in the horizontal masonry (fig. 115). The characteristic, which is recurrent in the clerestory, is important for the dating of the church<sup>3</sup>. The three openings were obviously clerestory windows opening into the nave above the east aisle, which was bordered by the outer and inner east walls. Consequently a roof must have leaned toward the inner wall, below the sills of the three windows, but in 1956 the plaster was not stripped far enough to identify the beam holes. At some point, the windows were blocked. The south and middle windows with irregular masonry of brick and small tufa stones, leaving a narrow rectangular opening which was in turn blocked later, the one to the north with a regular masonry in which bands of three or four brick courses alternate with single tufa courses. Also, in this window a brick frame outline what appears to have been a small oculus (figs. 115, 116, see also fig. 99).

Beneath the window zone and its lean-to roof, the lower story of the inner wall opened in an arcade flanked by angle piers at the northeast and southeast corners of the nave. The exterior arris of the north pier survives incorporated into the south wall of the north lapidarium; its south arris was revealed in 1956 by an opening cut into the rear wall of the Baroque narthex<sup>4</sup>. Thus it was found that the pier, built in *opus testatum* of the usual type, was 2.70 m. long. At a distance

<sup>1</sup> See below.

<sup>2</sup> MATHIAS, *op. cit.*, p. 112 B.

<sup>3</sup> See below, p. 141.

<sup>4</sup> MATHIAS, *op. cit.*, pp. 112, 113.



Fig. 114. S. Sebastiano. View from east facade to pier. Three separate arches.



Fig. 115. S. Sebastiano. Splice of masonry showing evidence of posthumous removal of corner pier.

Photographed by the author in 1956.  
Published in *Arch. Jahrb.* 66, 1956, p. 100.

of 5.82 m from this angle pier to the northeast corner of the corresponding south angle pier with 5.93 m high, as was the springing of the archivolt above (fig. 116). Its extrados begins to curve at a height of 5.80 m above the nave floor and suggests a span of about 2.80 m for the arch. The upper portions of this arch and of two other arches, one in the center, the other to the north, were seen in 1950 but could not be surveyed exactly.<sup>1</sup> However, the published photographs and the curve of the south arch, still visible at the springing, suggest that its apex would have reached a height of 7.20 m, and

that the arcade would have resembled the high and narrow arcades of the ambulatory. A similar arch can safely be assumed to have sprung from the northeast angle pier, leaving a distance of 4.20 m between the two arches. Indeed, the apex of the vousoir of the third arch still protrudes above the floor of the upper naos-chamber exactly in the center axis of the nave (fig. 115). The right and left arches were blocked at an early time in an *opus listatum*, somewhat poorer in quality but otherwise resembling the masonry used throughout the original structure; remnants of the blocking are still visible to the north, while the blocking to the south was observed in 1956.<sup>2</sup>

The evidence then suggests a reconstruction of the nave façade with three arches, supported between the angle piers by columns or piers only 0.70 m thick. However, the arches were not all alike. Those to the north and south were semicircular with a span of 2.80 m, leaving a distance of 4.20 m between the two. The center arch does not seem



Fig. 117a. S. Sebastiano. Plan of tomb in room half of (117b), 1917, apparently schematized.

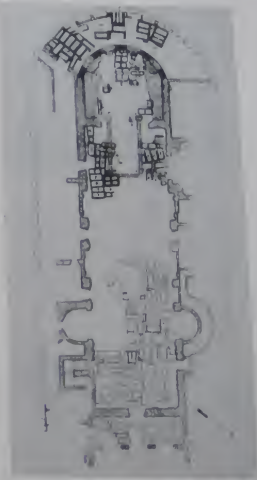


Fig. 117b. S. Sebastiano. Plan of tomb, including also ambulatory east part of nave and narthex, 1911.

Fig. 118. S. Sebastiano. Colonnade in nave showing the situation.

to have had the same diameter of 2.80 m; indeed, the inclination of its vousoir ribs suggests an extrados about 5 m wide and thus 1.30 m wider than the extrados of the lateral arches (3.70 m; that is, 2.80 m plus twice the width of the vousoirs, 45 cm). Hence the center arch may have been elliptical, as are many of the archivolts in the nave (South 6; pl. VIII, longitudinal section). On the other hand, the apparently wide span of the central arch remains difficult to reconcile with the reconstruction of a triple aperture, and only a broad pier, supported by a relieving arch, may originally have separated the two lateral arches.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> MATTHEY, *op. cit.*, p. 104 and pl. 110, fig. 43, suggests a reconstruction of the original double-arch for each lateral arch, separated by a pier, with no walls, because the third pier in a later reconstruction replaced their function. There is, however, no supporting evidence.



## 2) THE FLOOR OF THE BASILICA

In the excavation campaigns of 1875 and 1915 it was found that the entire *trapezoid* of the nave from the entrance to the apex of the nave was tightly packed with graves, mostly Roman, occasionally juxtaposed with sarcophagi (figs. 137 a, b, 138). The subsequent campaigns (1925) established a regular carpet of graves in the ambulatory, in the pilgiming way, bays of the south aisle, in the west half of the north aisle and in the area of the Bishop's narthex<sup>2</sup>. More recently, an excavation below the present sacristy has revealed a similar paving with graves in the area of the south aisle corresponding to the fifth part<sup>3</sup>. All these finds suggest that the centre basilica lacked a pavement in the proper sense of the term; rather, the floor was formed by the slabs with which the graves were covered. At the same time, the carpeting of graves gives a clue to the function of the structure. Many of the epiphany of the tombs are dated and some were found still in *uso*; thus they supply concrete data and *scopus* for the construction of the building<sup>4</sup>. These clues are supplemented by dated epitaphs found in the mausolea which were built at an early time against the perimeter walls of the basilica. Also, it must be recalled that the top layer of graves in the west half of the nave and in the ambulatory was preceded by several layers of burials placed between the spurs of the ambulatory and atop the stylobate wall from which rise the piers in that part of the nave.

Numerous other graves and mausolea were found south of the basilica and in the area which extends from its façade east to the Via Appia, that is, in the former forecourt or precinct court<sup>5</sup>.

## 3) THE CRYPT OF SAINT SEBASTIAN

Near the southeast corner of the nave a double flight of stairs broken by two landings descends into the Crypt of Saint Sebastian<sup>6</sup>. The crypt is a roughly rectangular room, 10.40 m. long and from 4.00 m. to 5 meters wide, with its axis running east and west (pl. VII), and its floor level roughly 3 m. below the nave. A deep rectangular niche projects from its south wall. At the crypt's far west end two flights of steps, one broad, the other narrow, descend from the nave, they end about 1 m. above the floor of the chamber, presumably at the level of its original floor (fig. 139). Since the present southeast stairs were already in use in the sixteenth century (and the older double flight consequently abandoned), the floor was presumably lowered in the Middle Ages<sup>7</sup>. On the other hand, when the steps of the double stairs were uncovered<sup>8</sup> in 1915, they were composed of tomb slabs in second use<sup>9</sup>; hence they were certainly repaired at an early time, perhaps in the early Middle Ages. Also, of the two flights only one is likely to be original, but we do not know which. The walls of the chamber, built of irregular *opus incertum* and only partly hidden behind a seventeenth century system of wall piers and vaults, may antedate the building of the basilica, or they may be contemporaneous with it or even somewhat later. In any event, the chamber, while apparently remodeled in the Middle Ages, appears originally to have been a typical

<sup>1</sup> See also the plan of the crypt in the *Atti del Ministero delle Belle Arti*, vol. 10, fasc. 11, p. 112, fig. 11, 2.  
<sup>2</sup> *Atti del Ministero delle Belle Arti*, fasc. 11, p. 112, fig. 11, 2. See also the plan in the *Atti del Ministero delle Belle Arti*, fasc. 11, p. 112, fig. 11, 2.  
<sup>3</sup> *Atti del Ministero delle Belle Arti*, fasc. 11, p. 112, fig. 11, 2.  
<sup>4</sup> See also the plan of the crypt in the *Atti del Ministero delle Belle Arti*, fasc. 11, p. 112, fig. 11, 2.  
<sup>5</sup> *Atti del Ministero delle Belle Arti*, fasc. 11, p. 112, fig. 11, 2.  
<sup>6</sup> *Atti del Ministero delle Belle Arti*, fasc. 11, p. 112, fig. 11, 2.  
<sup>7</sup> *Atti del Ministero delle Belle Arti*, fasc. 11, p. 112, fig. 11, 2.  
<sup>8</sup> *Atti del Ministero delle Belle Arti*, fasc. 11, p. 112, fig. 11, 2.  
<sup>9</sup> *Atti del Ministero delle Belle Arti*, fasc. 11, p. 112, fig. 11, 2.



Fig. 137. Crypt of Saint Sebastian, showing the crypt.

Fig. 139. Crypt of Saint Sebastian, showing the crypt.



Fig. 139. Crypt of Saint Sebastian, showing the crypt.

church's eastern doorway by widening a catacomb gallery, in order to create a prominent screen and provide space for a small column near that entrance. Indeed, the wall in the threshold appears to have sheltered the sculptor's figure, to be Saint Sebastian, seated on his patient hospital in the middle. Throughout the Middle Ages, a double door to the church and onto the trances, still visible, led into further galleries of the catacombs (Fig. 123).

### 3. The forecourt or precinct court

An important element of the building complex has come to light in the course of the recent campaigns. As early as 1898, the threshold of a large door was found, apparently in line on the side of the Via Appia and thus about 30 m. east of the sacellum. It extends in part below the modern wall which runs along the west border of the road, and its position corresponds exactly to the axis of the north side of the church. The threshold, exactly 2.95 m. (10 R. B.) long and 0.62 m. wide, bears on its edge a monogram which allows for at least three readings: *Constantinus*, *Constantus* or *Constans* (Fig. 124). In 1960 Fernà was able to supplement this find with that of the corresponding door jambs, both inscribed with a vertical  $\Phi$  flanked by *A* and *B*. Thus the door must have been a large portal, leading from the Via Appia to what may have been either a forecourt or a precinct court extending in front of the basilica and along its flanks, giving access to it as well as to some of the mansioles along its sides.

### 4. Annexed buildings

The neighborhood of S. Sebastiano was early occupied by numerous funeral monuments, and *cellae memoriae* also rose on the site where the basilica was later built.<sup>1</sup> Some such older mausolea outside have survived, especially in the area to the north.<sup>2</sup> Among those which stood inside the circuit of the new walls, many were obliterated and buried beneath the floor. Others, initially *cellae*  $\delta$  and tomb no. 53, which lay just outside the perimeter wall, were incorporated in the structure of the basilica and left to project from it as annexes. Scarcely was the perimeter wall complete when other *cellae memoriae* were added, especially along the south side (pl. VII). The first of these, *cella* 43, was entered through a large triple archway about halfway along the south side of the basilica. The remains of the triple arcade are still visible on the wall of the convent staircase, near the campanile (figs. 125, 126), and part of its apse has been brought to light some 10 m. to the south beneath the floor of a room in the convent. *Cella* 43 must have been short-lived. Its place was soon occupied by two smaller apsid buildings, nos. 34 and 45; from the style of their brickwork, these are certainly not much later than the middle of the fourth century (pl. VII, figs. 127, 128). The bricks are neatly new and are laid in arcuate, horizontal coursing with eight courses in a height of 0.40 to 0.53 m. These two *cellae* are incorporated in the convent buildings, one as a storage chamber, the other as the parish chamber.

<sup>1</sup> *Icon. Magnae Urbis*, vol. II.

<sup>2</sup> See also the *Excavazioni Episcopali*, *Storia Nuova*, 1852, p. 56.

<sup>3</sup> *Not. di Scav.*, p. 135; *W. Smith's Dict.*, p. 131; *Arch. Inst. Brit.*, vol. VII, p. 131. See also *Excavazioni Episcopali*, *Storia Nuova*, 1852, p. 56; *Not. di Scav.*, p. 135; *W. Smith's Dict.*, p. 131; *Arch. Inst. Brit.*, vol. VII, p. 131. See also *Excavazioni Episcopali*, *Storia Nuova*, 1852, p. 56; *Not. di Scav.*, p. 135; *W. Smith's Dict.*, p. 131; *Arch. Inst. Brit.*, vol. VII, p. 131.

<sup>4</sup> See also *Excavazioni Episcopali*, *Storia Nuova*, 1852, p. 56.

<sup>5</sup> *Excavazioni Episcopali*, *Storia Nuova*, 1852, p. 56.



Fig. 123. S. Sebastiano: Entrance area of the church.

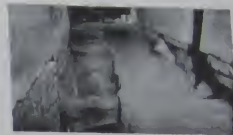


Fig. 124. S. Sebastiano: Threshold of a large door, showing monogram. (Drawing, long of upper part of column, photo. by Christianus M. Ricci, 1960.)



Fig. 125. S. Sebastiano: Convent staircase, showing triple arcade of Annexed wall, above campanile.

East of *cella* 43 (the *cella* attached to the *cella* 43) built of good brickwork (pl. VII). It was entered through a vestibule with *colonnade* only a *trapezoid*; the facade of the vestibule stands some 7 m. from the south side of the basilica. From its location, it seems to date earlier than the church, however, this cannot be so, since masonry 13 has built against the flank of masonry 13 and that must be later than it. Still further east and adjacent to masonry 43 there is a *cella* attached to the *cella* 43, the so-called *Mausoleum* of the *Utrique*. It is partly brickwork and partly stone in excellent brickwork of the same high quality as found in the *cellae* 34 and 45 (fig. 126). It is built against the east flank of the *cella* 43 and thus must be later than that mausoleum. An epitaph found *in situ* inside the *rotunda* bears the date 375 and instead, to be placed as well as in its relation to the *cella* 43, *cella* 43 recalls strikingly the *cella* of S. Costanzo adjoining the base basilica of S. Agnese I, 1.5 m. and of about the same date.<sup>3</sup> To the west, the space between masonry 43 and the annexed *cella*  $\delta$  was occupied by another *cella* (no. 45) built in the same high quality brickwork as noted elsewhere. West of *cella*  $\delta$  there is a door, internal and then into

<sup>3</sup> The *cella* of S. Costanzo has been found at *Excavazioni Episcopali*, *Storia Nuova*, 1852, p. 56; *Not. di Scav.*, p. 135; *W. Smith's Dict.*, p. 131; *Arch. Inst. Brit.*, vol. VII, p. 131. See also *Excavazioni Episcopali*, *Storia Nuova*, 1852, p. 56; *Not. di Scav.*, p. 135; *W. Smith's Dict.*, p. 131; *Arch. Inst. Brit.*, vol. VII, p. 131.



Fig. 125. S. Schiavoni, *Ricerche*, (reproduced by permission of the author).



Fig. 126. S. Schiavoni, *Ricerche*, (reproduced by permission of the author).

The view S. Schiavoni, *Ricerche*, before restoration, showing evidence of pre-Christian and earlier of Constantinian and dating to the end of antiquity.

later layers in plain, while those to the north were scattered over a wide area, independent from each other and from the basilica and frequently antedating it. Two such earlier mausolea were incorporated into the south flank of the church, while a third, a *columbarium* of the first or second century A. D., was hit by wall by the construction of the Albani chapel.<sup>2</sup> A far larger number of funerary structures rose at some distance from the basilica, from five to over thirty meters away

apud cellas, nos 34 and 35, stand for more or less an right angles to the side of the basilica.<sup>3</sup> They are intact, even to their vaulted roofs, but the filling-terrain brings them many meters below the basilica floor level, and so it seems probable that the surviving portions were originally substructures for cellae which stood above them at the level of the basilica but have perished. Still further west a trapezoid structure, cella 30, is attached to the curved perimeter wall of the ambulatory. It has a triple-arched portico facing west, and it shelters a long flight of steps which ascend from what must have once been ground level up to the basilica floor. Whether cella 30 might at one time have been a postern entrance to the basilica is a question which must remain open for the time being. In any case the triple porch was very soon blocked up and turned into the east side of yet another absidal cella, no. 51: the "Platonia", which was erected in honor of the martyr Quirinus at the end of the fourth century (fig. 126).

Similarly, numerous mausolea existed north of the basilica. However, the mausolea to the south were attached to each other and to the flank of the main structure and later layers in plain, while those to the north were scattered over a wide area, independent from each other and from the basilica and frequently antedating it. Two such earlier mausolea were incorporated into the south flank of the church, while a third, a *columbarium* of the first or second century A. D., was hit by wall by the construction of the Albani chapel.<sup>2</sup> A far larger number of funerary structures rose at some distance from the basilica, from five to over thirty meters away

<sup>2</sup> *Christus Varius: Basilica "Christus Varius"*, which had its consecration between the discovery of the *CONCORDIA* OF 1910 and the construction of the Basilica of Christus Varius.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 113 ff. and *Christus Varius*, p. 100.

and as far north as the edge of Via delle Sette Chiese.<sup>4</sup> Most of these date back to the second century or earlier. They range in size from first century *columbaria* to large mausolea sheltering fourth-century sarcophagi, and they vary in plan from rectangular to apsid, circular, square, and rotundas.<sup>5</sup> Among the latter, at least one was provided with altitudes, windows and developed by niche enclosed by a tower (fig. 127), as indicated by Lauff's engraving (fig. 128).

## F. RECONSTRUCTION

### 1. The cemetery area

A reconstruction of the funerary area, both before and after the building of the memoria complex and the later basilica, is beyond the scope of our investigation. It will suffice to mention that the area below and north of the basilica was densely occupied by pagan burials as early as the first and second centuries; it continued in use by both pagans and Christians during the third and fourth centuries, and at the same time the area expanded south and east, it was designated as of the *columbaria* "area depression" — i.e. the dip in the Via Appia since that time or before<sup>6</sup> — finally, its Christian occupation continued in the fifth and sixth centuries. This development is attested by the early *columbaria* to the north, by the three mausolea of the second century grouped about the *arnasium*; by the street of *columbaria* and tomb chambers below the area of the north aisle of the basilica; by the Christian mausolea attached to its south flank, by the catacomb galleries extending below its floor as well as east and south, and finally by epitaphs dating from the fourth through the later sixth century, found inside the basilica and in the *massicella* south and north.<sup>7</sup>

### 2. The Memoria Apostolorum

The memoria complex formed part of this funerary area which by the third century, if not before, had included Christian occupants. It was a rectilinear enclosure, located on the terraced hillside, sixty-odd meters from the Via Appia (figs. 94, 95).<sup>8</sup> A stairway led down to it from a higher terrace, roughly at the level of the present church floor, which extended in the direction of the Via Appia. The stairway terminated below in the southeast corner of an open courtyard, more or less leveled by terracing and paved. In the northwest corner of the court there was a small niched monument, its niche facing south and flanked by small brick columns, situated and painted to resemble marble. Adjacent to the southwest corner and extending outside the area of the court, there stood an apsed exedra (cella 6); its distyle façade coinciding with the perimeter wall of the enclosure. Near the middle of the court a flight of steps descended into the earth, leading to a spring of water in a rock-hewn chamber. The memoria enclosure was bounded to the north by the rear walls of mausolea in the street of tombs. To the west a boundary wall separated the courtyard from the area

<sup>4</sup> *Christus Varius*, pp. 113 ff. and 114 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Christus Varius*, pp. 113 ff. and 114 ff.

<sup>6</sup> See above, chaps. 121-54, 152, and 153, and *Christus Varius*, *Memoria Apostolorum*, Rome, 1930, p. 100.

<sup>7</sup> See above, chaps. 147 through 167, for the *CONCORDIA* group; 167-77, for the *Christus Varius* group; 178-81, and *Christus Varius*, p. 113 ff.

of the Roman villa, which stood on a much lower level. To the north and east of the main road two raised loggias. The southern one is partly preserved. The east loggia rose one step higher than the courtyard and was accessible from the descending stairway through a narrow door. Its floor had two parts, while its rear and side walls were covered with garden frescoes, the former decorated by headless figures invoking the Princes of the Apostles.

### 3. The basilica

In most respects the original form of the basilica and the layout of its surroundings can be established without much doubt. A thorough excavation from the Via Appia toward the façade of the basilica (fig. 60). It must have been closed along the road by a wall, as indicated by the find of a threshold and the pavement slabs of a gate (fig. 120<sup>1</sup>). The position of this gate oppo-

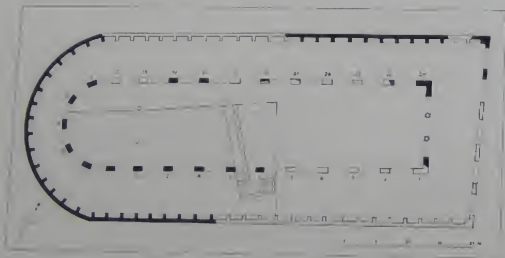


FIG. 121. S. SEBASTIANO, PLAN OF THE GATE (RECONSTRUCTION)

sited to the north side rather than on the central axis of the church suggests that originally there were three doors, and the one found was to the right. But the courtyard may well have been much wider than the basilica since it must also have given access to the mausolea to the north and south. Hence the excavated gate may have stood on the center axis of the courtyard rather than of the basilica, and there may have been no others. Certainly the courtyard was not enveloped by porticoes.<sup>2</sup> Remains of mausolea have been found scattered over the entire area, particularly in front of the basilica façade, where such porticoes, had they existed, would have stood.

The basilica consisted of a 11-bay nave and of an enveloping zone of aisles, continued in an ambulatory sweep by an ambulatory at the west end (figs. 100, 127). The nave was 58.30 m. long and 13.70 m. wide internally, that is, roughly 200 by 45 R. ft.; the aisles and ambulatory were each about 7 meters wide, not quite 24 R. ft. The total inner length amounted to 73.40 m., approximately 240 R. ft. The nave communicated with the aisles by a continuous series of arcades,

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 119.

<sup>2</sup> The wall belonged to Basilica of St. Sebastian.

north, east and south, continued to the west by the unbroken series of the ambulatory arcades. Their arches, semicircular along the nave but shifted in the taller and narrower arcades of both ambulatory and east aisle, rested on rectangular piers, all of the same width and terminated by simple brick cornices. Only the arcade towards the east aisle differed, being composed either of two arches carried by a wide center pier or of three arches supported by two very slender piers or by a pair of columns). Like the arcades, the clerestory zone enveloped the nave on all sides. It contained one window above each of the nine arcades on each side of the nave, while in the curved ambulatory, windows and blind spaces alternated above the eight arcades. The short east aisle opened to the outside in five arches, while three windows pierced the nave wall above the roof of the aisle.

The basilica was crowded in on all sides by mausolea, pl. VII, fig. 90. Two were attached to the east wall, one of either end. At least six were built against the south flank, while two (nos. 41 and 42, were separated from it by a narrow corridor. All these mausolea (except cells A on a much lower level, were later than the basilica, if only, as with mausoleum no. 41, by a few years. On the other hand, a large area north of the basilica was occupied by scattered mausolea, some of these antedated the basilica, and two of them, nos. 71 and 53, were incorporated into the new construction.

The funerary character of the basilica itself is well established. Indeed, it was nothing but a covered graveyard, a *coemeterium subteclatum*, intended for burial and funerary banquets and focused on the memoria where the Princes of the Apostles had been commemorated as early as 258 A. D., if not before. Its entire inside perimeter wall, except for the east aisle, was lined with tiers of burial *loculi* arranged in *arcosolium*-like embrasures; there were three tiers above and up to five tiers below the present floor level. Thus in both the ambulatory and the west portion of the south aisle, the lowest *loculi* in these embrasures lie 6.60 m. below the present floor, only slightly higher than the level of the memorial courtyard and corresponding exactly to the top of the stylobate from which the nave arcades of the basilica spring; the bottom *loculi* would have been a trench 0.65 m. deep at the base of the *arcosolium*. Hence, there must have been a stage in the history of the basilica when at least part of its floor was considerably lower than it is today, otherwise neither the *loculi* below present floor level nor the sarcophagi and *formae* placed atop the nave stylobate would have been accessible. Also it must be recalled that the only ancient floor found in the basilica, both in its east and its west portions, lay only 0.27 m. below the modern nave level and consisted entirely of the cover slabs of the tightly packed graves directly below the present floor.<sup>3</sup> In the east part of the basilica and in the portico, these graves formed a single layer, while in the west part of the nave and in the ambulatory they were stacked in several tiers.<sup>4</sup> Many of the funds found in the top layer were dated; the earliest in situ, of 317, was found in the east part of the south aisle below the present sacristy while another one, of 355, lay in the west part of the nave above the area of the memoria courtyard.<sup>5</sup> Numerous others turned up in fragments scattered throughout the nave and aisles.<sup>6</sup> Within the context of its funerary function it also becomes understandable that throughout the centuries the catacomb galleries below its floor and to the north remained accessible from the basilica by means of the Crypt of St. Sebastian.<sup>7</sup>

In considering the original aspect and floor level of the basilica and its subsequent changes, a

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 119.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 119, fig. 120, and pl. VII, fig. 90.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 119.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 119, fig. 127.

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 119, fig. 127.

<sup>6</sup> See above, p. 119, fig. 127.

<sup>7</sup> See above, p. 119, fig. 127.

number of factors must therefore be reconciled: a) the memoria complex, which predates the basilica and lies about 3 meters below the present nave level, was founded to the east by a terrace that was 100 higher than the memoria, though not much, if at all, below the present nave level;<sup>1</sup> b) the tribuna, the *trabs* and the *stylabates* indicate that the areas of the ambulatory and the west half of the nave and aisles were at a level about 2 m. below the present pavement;<sup>2</sup> c) the remains of the memoria complex and of the adjacent *ambolae* were left standing nearly to present nave level and thus to a height far above the *trabs* and *stylabates* in that part of the basilica;<sup>3</sup> d) a pavement of tomb slabs at the present level existed in the east part of the basilica since at least 145, in the west part since at least 157. To explain these seemingly irreconcilable factors we have to assume that the basilica was built expressly as a burial site and originally had no common level and obviously no pavement. It consisted only of walls and arcades, with roofs covering the area of the memoria complex, the adjoining valley to the west and the higher terrace toward the Via Appia to the east. Within the area the ambulatory and the west portions of the nave and aisles occupied a level corresponding to the lowest tier of *trabs* and to the *stylabates* of the nave arcades. On this level, the remains of the *trabs* were left standing over two meters high, while the memoria (which may have been filled in level with the *trabobate*). On the other hand in the east portions of the nave and aisles, presumably from the outset, the level corresponded closely to the present one, which in turn is roughly that of the old terrace east of the memoria complex. One would like to think that the rise levels in the nave were linked by stairs, but it remains unclear how this connection was established. True, the flight of stairs which descended from the terrace to the *trabs* from the very beginning may have remained accessible after the basilica had been built. However, this stairway was situated in the area of the south aisle and was cut off from the nave by the foundation wall of the nave arcade. Hence, it would have led to the lower level in the zone of the aisle and ambulatory, but the part of the memoria complex in the nave would have remained inaccessible. The memoria complex and the enveloping ambulatory would thus have formed a kind of open confessional at the west end of the structure, cut in two by the dividing foundation wall of the arcades, and the veneration of the memoria niche may well have continued for some time within the two-level covered graveyard.

When the tomb of the boy Panurgius and a number of other graves in its close vicinity were placed on the present level, high above the memoria complex but within its area,<sup>4</sup> burials within the low-lying portions of the graveyard had apparently risen four and five layers. Hence, the top layer in the west part of the structure became level with the single layer of graves in the higher east part. Thus the era of a two-levelled basilica gave way to the one-level stage, which apparently lasted into the Middle Ages. On the level of the present nave, one layer of graves formed a continuous carpet extending from the narthex to the apex of the ambulatory. This stage was obviously reached by 357, the year of Panurgius' death. Since the small grave of the boy was apparently situated in heretofore pre-existing graves, it is reasonable to assume that the lower portions of the graveyard had been filled in even earlier, perhaps between 330 and 350.

In all likelihood the Crypt of Saint Sebastian lay the southeast sector of the nave already existed and was accessible when the basilica was first laid out (figs. 110, 120). Presumably it was a *subterranean* chamber from the outset and sheltered the grave of Saint Sebastian. As was customary, it was probably enclosed from a gallery or a galleria which extends below the east part of the nave and forecourt and branches out below the graveyard to the north. At the same time, the chamber might have served, as it did throughout the Middle Ages and still does, as an entrance to

<sup>1</sup> See also fig. 120.

the catacomb.<sup>5</sup> As early as the beginning of the fifth century (perhaps even before the middle of the fourth) the latter-day demand for the *subterranean* Panurgius and *trabs* (figs. 140, 150). The first, perhaps probably the final, and perhaps the last reconstruction of the basilica probably related to the southern chamber of Saint Eusebius.<sup>6</sup>

On the eastern axis of the nave, five feet of the high wall of the *trabs* and most of the porch descending into the crypt of Saint Sebastian; a block of floor (perhaps) was inserted in c. 1400.

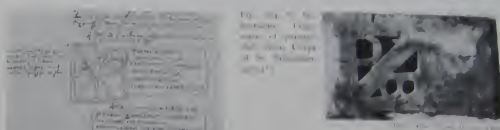


Fig. 140. S. Sebastiano. Eastern part of the nave. The block of floor (perhaps) inserted in c. 1400. (See also fig. 141.)

time among the original group (fig. 141, pls. 5, 6, 7). With the migration of Constantine northward, the three sarcophagi (the great and the middle one) marked of Carostian history — *Paviano*.<sup>7</sup> It is above these sarcophagi that the altar of Saint Fabian (see also the site of Panvino).<sup>8</sup> Obviously the altar as it appeared in the seventh century cannot have antedated the three sarcophagi. It may well have been a medieval construction. However, it might have taken the place of an earlier altar, not dedicated to St. Fabian but possibly the high altar of the church, which did come before the three sarcophagi. Indeed, in 1793 the altar of Saint Fabian, smaller than that of Saint Sebastian in the apse, was still the high altar of the church.<sup>9</sup> Moreover, placing the altar in the nave apparently occurred by Rome in the fourth century, but not later.<sup>10</sup> At S. Sebastiano, this position may have been further determined by the presence of the memoria complex on the lower level in the first two-level structure. In fact, since the placing of the altar of Saint Fabian in the nave far later to the facade than to the apse, we can envision not to be disregarded in envisaging the early structure.

#### 4. Later remodelings

The church of S. Sebastiano underwent its major transformation when the middle of the nave were blocked. The ambulatory and both ends must then functioned and the church was reduced to the nave alone. The south side had the triforium, narthex were occupied by a residual structure. They were transformed and transformed into buildings including a large refectory and, near the transverse center axis of the nave, a *capella*. The ambulatory and the two *ambolae*

<sup>1</sup> See also fig. 120.

<sup>2</sup> See also fig. 120.

<sup>3</sup> See also fig. 120.

<sup>4</sup> See also fig. 120.

<sup>5</sup> See also fig. 120.

<sup>6</sup> See also fig. 120.

<sup>7</sup> See also fig. 120.

<sup>8</sup> See also fig. 120.

<sup>9</sup> See also fig. 120.

<sup>10</sup> See also fig. 120.

the main axis were still standing, in large part, at the end of the sixteenth century, no wall. Presumably the above-mentioned masonry of the colonnaded porch known from description and north-south orientation to the façade of the nave<sup>1</sup>, while some of the nave windows were walled up, provided smaller windows in a number of the blockings<sup>2</sup>.

The remodeling undertaken by Cardinal Borghese<sup>3</sup> left the building structurally unchanged. It was limited to the addition of a door with supporting arch and piers over the chancel bay, the destruction of the present triflex and upper chamber and the reconstruction of the nave walk. Also at that time the remaining original clerestory windows were blocked and replaced by the present square windows.

## G. CHRONOLOGY

### 1. The Memoria

The date of the first large Christian structure on the site, the memoria complex, can be established with relative firmness. When its construction was laid out, the mausoleum of the Innocentios became inaccessible, and a graffiti in that mausoleum, bearing the date 236 A.D., establishes a *terminus post quem* for the memoria enclosure<sup>4</sup>. On the other hand, the graffiti of 266 A.D. on the east wall of the *crypta* establishes a *terminus ante quem*<sup>5</sup>. Within these limits, the notice in the *Depositio Martiani* supplemented by the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* provides the likely date of 258 A.D. for the laying of the complex<sup>6</sup>. It is beyond the scope of this *Corpus* to consider the exact meaning of the notice, that is, whether it refers to the transfer of relics of Saints Peter and Paul, the transfer of their festival or the revival of an older cult on the site.

### 2. The basilica

#### a) THE ORIGINAL BUILDING AND THE MAUSOLEA

A *terminus ante quem* is readily established for the construction of the basilical covered graveyard. The *memorium* mausoleum along the south flank, the rotunda of the Uranii, no. 41, contained the site of the epistle of 320<sup>7</sup>. The rotunda was built against the earlier east wall of mausoleum 42, which then in turn turned against the flank of the large-apsed mausoleum 43. The latter, one recalls, appeared as a simple arch onto the south side of the basilica and was built either simultaneously with the *aula* and/or slightly later. Hence the basilica must have been built some time before 349. Similarly, the position of the grave of Panagytius in the top layer of *terracae*, high above the memoria enclosure, suggests that by 377 quite some time had been spent in filling the low western portion of the basilica with four and five layers of graves<sup>8</sup>. But nothing indicates whether it was a

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 137, and below, p. 138.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 137, and below, p. 138.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 137.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 137.

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 137.

<sup>6</sup> See above, p. 137, and below, p. 138.

<sup>7</sup> See above, p. 137, and below, p. 138.

<sup>8</sup> See above, p. 137, and below, p. 138.

<sup>9</sup> See above, p. 137, and below, p. 138.

few years of a few decades below 349 and 375, that building was started. Nevertheless the program on the threshold of the present gate near the Via Appia provide anything but the vaguest *terminus ad quem* reading: "Constantinus, Constantius or Constantius" remains in doubt, and thus its date is some time between late in 312 and 361. Even if the readings Constantius or Constantius and thus a date either between 337 and 350 or between 350 and 361 were certain, the basilica might well antedate the present, and its gate by quite some time<sup>9</sup>. Similarly, the evidence is vague regarding a possible *terminus post quem* for its construction. It has been pointed out that none of the graffiti in the *trabes* contain the *chi rho* and that the memoria complex therefore was probably no longer accessible after 313, when that symbol became commonly accepted, but *argumenta et verba* are dangerous. The same holds of a suggestion made verbally by Enrico Jotti: he has pointed out that the structure is not mentioned in the *Liber Pontificalis*, neither in the biography of Sylvester, which deals with Constantine's foundations in Rome, nor in those of Popes Mark and Julius I. Thus, he concludes, it might antedate Constantine and date from the reign of Maxentius, that is, under Pope Marcellus, Eusebius or Miltiades<sup>10</sup>.

The style of the masonry in itself is of little help. Alternate courses of tufa and brick with the same proportion of mortar are to be found in Roman architecture from the time of Septimius Severus to the fifth century. Nevertheless one small feature in the structure of the basilica may be significant. The use of elliptical window arches is maximum and seems to be a personal idiosyncrasy of the architect; he also used an ellipse for the plan of the ambulatory arcade. Consequently it is of some importance that precisely the same characteristic is present in the arches which span the ornamental niches surrounding the central pier of the tomb of Romulus, son of Maxentius, which stands opposite the basilica on the other side of the Via Appia. Its date of construction, 310 to 311, is well established<sup>11</sup>. Moreover, for what it is worth, it may be noted that the peristyle surrounding Romulus' tomb has masonry very similar to that of the basilica. Hence, it seems probable that the architect who designed Romulus' tomb was also responsible for the Basilica Apostolorum. Indeed, it does not seem at all impossible that construction was started between 310 and 313; Maxentius' tolerance in religious matters is well known<sup>12</sup>. The present wall along Via Appia may well have been completed between 337 and 350, more or less at the time when the two-level plan of the basilica gave way to the one-level stage. But the basilica itself is a uniform construction erected in one comparatively short building period<sup>13</sup>.

The mausolea along the south flank of the *memorium subtegulum ad calcitransum* (except *caeca b*), on the third century level of the memoria complex, all rose in the course of the fourth century. The large mausoleum 43, built either simultaneously with the south wall of the basilica or slightly later, was apparently the starting point. From there the mausolea developed both east, terminating prior to or in 349 with the rotunda of the Uranii, no. 41, and west, where they end with the Platonia, a large mausoleum built by Pope Damasus (366-367) in memory of the Prince of the Apostles<sup>14</sup>. The Platonia was apparently intended as a favorite burial place for outstanding members of the Christian community, but it received new significance when, under Damasus

<sup>9</sup> See above, p. 137, and below, p. 138.

<sup>10</sup> See above, p. 137, and below, p. 138.

<sup>11</sup> See above, p. 137, and below, p. 138.

<sup>12</sup> See above, p. 137, and below, p. 138.

<sup>13</sup> See above, p. 137, and below, p. 138.

<sup>14</sup> See above, p. 137, and below, p. 138.

in 1849. Long, the index of the martyr Quirinus were deposited here after their transfer from Santa in Pantano.<sup>1</sup> Similarly, Saint Eusebius' burial place in the catacombs is possibly of the same origin (Hambro) the Crypt of Saint Sebastian, was commemorated by Damasus in an inscription.<sup>2</sup> The grave of Saint Sebastian, presumably in that same entrance chamber, had possibly also been venerated for quite some time when, under Innocent I, it was decorated or enclosed by a screen given by the two presbyters, Proclus and Eusebius, their dedicatory inscription suggests this (see below).<sup>3</sup> incorporated into SS. Giovanni e Paolo, had by that time, if not before, been placed in charge of the *sanctuarium*.<sup>4</sup> (pgs. 128, 129).

Crucially by the fifth century, the last, obviously added, paragraph of the *Passio Quirini* (see comment), the *sanctuarium* had become known as the *basilica apostolorum*.<sup>5</sup> This term and other appellations mentioned in the official designations as late as the pontificate of Hadrian I.<sup>6</sup> But possibly as the search for a term it had unofficially become the *ecclesia sancti Sebastiani*.<sup>7</sup> 8, and this title has remained ever since.

#### 1. LOWER REMODELING

The nature of the repairs undertaken on the church by Hadrian I is still unknown.<sup>8</sup> The major remodeling of the church, the blocking of the arcades which resulted in cutting off the aisles and ambulatory, has occasionally been attributed to his pontificate,<sup>9</sup> but it actually dates considerably later. It probably took place in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century,<sup>10</sup> when the area of the south side was occupied by the buildings of a convent, including the campanile. The masonry of these structures is of brick and solid brick in the lower parts of the campanile; alternating levels of travertine blocks and bricks are used in the upper wall of the adjoining wing.<sup>11</sup> Both these indications are customary in Rome in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.<sup>12</sup> The windows of the ambulatory may well have been blocked at the same time, as suggested by the shape of the small windows inserted into the blocking of the original facade windows. Likewise, the portico which extended in front of the nave prior to 1100 bears all the hallmarks of a thirteenth century Roman insertion, illustrated for instance by S. Giorgio in Velabro and S. Lorenzo E.M.<sup>13</sup> The consecration by Honorius III of the altar of Saint Sebastian in the crypt and the altar in the apse may have marked the end of this building campaign; however, construction may have taken place in several phases over nearly a century, as possession of the church shifted first to the Cisterians and then to the Lateran Canon.<sup>14</sup>

New repairs became necessary in the course of the fifteenth century, but they were apparently minor, including brick pavement in the nave and portico and perhaps a new frame for the main door which led from the portico into the church.<sup>15</sup>

The last major rebuilding, under Cardinal Borghese, need not be discussed.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Passio* of St. Quirinus, 100.  
<sup>2</sup> *Passio* of St. Quirinus, 100.  
<sup>3</sup> *Passio* of St. Quirinus, 100.  
<sup>4</sup> *Passio* of St. Quirinus, 100.  
<sup>5</sup> *Passio* of St. Quirinus, 100.  
<sup>6</sup> *Passio* of St. Quirinus, 100.  
<sup>7</sup> *Passio* of St. Quirinus, 100.  
<sup>8</sup> *Passio* of St. Quirinus, 100.  
<sup>9</sup> *Passio* of St. Quirinus, 100.  
<sup>10</sup> *Passio* of St. Quirinus, 100.  
<sup>11</sup> *Passio* of St. Quirinus, 100.  
<sup>12</sup> *Passio* of St. Quirinus, 100.  
<sup>13</sup> *Passio* of St. Quirinus, 100.  
<sup>14</sup> *Passio* of St. Quirinus, 100.  
<sup>15</sup> *Passio* of St. Quirinus, 100.  
<sup>16</sup> *Passio* of St. Quirinus, 100.

#### H. HISTORICAL POSITION

S. Sebastiano, the *basilica apostolorum* on the Via Appia, clearly belongs to the group of covered graveyards, *coemeteria subtegata*, which were discovered and identified in the 1950's along the great roads of the Roman Campagna: SS. Marcellino e Pietro on the Via Labicana, the *basilica* *maior* of S. Lorenzo E.M. on the Tiburtina, the *coemeterium domini* on the Nomentana.<sup>1</sup> A fourth structure of the same type has been found in the Villa dei Gordiani on the Via Prenestina, but it has been neither fully excavated nor identified as to name, date or function. The plan, date of construction and function of the other three are known, and their elevation can be reconstructed with some assurance. As pointed out previously,<sup>2</sup> all were U-shaped, with their aisles enveloping the apse as an ambulatory. They were all basilicas, their three-story walls carried by rows of square piers, either piers or columns. They were very large indeed, and they date from Constantinian times, if we take the term in its wider sense, that is, between 300 and 350. They all rose on imperial estates and were covered with graves, surrounded by porticoes and located close to the grave of a martyr in a neighboring catacomb. Finally, they were all designed to provide space for the dead and the living: for burial, funeral banquets, assemblies near the *martirium* and the celebrations of the Eucharist on the Saint's day.<sup>3</sup>

S. Sebastiano shares with these buildings all essential elements. The function, the U-shaped plan, the location near a great road, the piers, they are comparable to the piers found at SS. Marcellino e Pietro and the size: its length of 73.40 m. is somewhere between that of SS. Marcellino e Pietro (63 m.) and S. Agnese and S. Lorenzo (87 and 93.80 m., respectively). However, on some points it is set off from the rest of the group. None of them has so far shown any traces of *loculi* held in place by fin walls along the inner flanks, and in none is the *martirium* enclosed within the nave as it was the case in S. Sebastiano. Both of these features may have been engendered by the formation of the terrain, which provided space on the steep east slope from the valley behind the basilica to the Via Appia. But they may also be indications of an early date and thus might be features eliminated in the later examples. Indeed, S. Sebastiano, one recalls, may antedate Constantine's reign by a few years and thus be the first of the *coemeteria subtegata*.

Finally, it is worth noting that S. Sebastiano is the only *coemeterium subtegatum* to survive with but little structural change. The other covered graveyards all were abandoned once their original function, burial and funeral banquets, had become obsolete. In their place as a rule, *basilicae ad corpus*, erected over the nearby grave of the martyr, became the real cult center, as at S. Lorenzo in 539 to 550 and at S. Agnese, 625 to 638. S. Sebastiano remained in continued use, even after the last burial had taken place in 357, because it continued to be a cult center. It is true that the *memoria apostolorum*, its original *raison d'être*, had been filled in, probably as early as the middle of the fourth century; but it also sheltered, probably from the outset, the grave of the martyr Sebastian, which remained accessible as did the grave of Quirinus, transferred there in the last third of the fourth century. Hence, from its very beginning it was not only a *coemeterium subtegatum* complementary to a nearby *martirium*, but also a *basilica ad corpus* enclosing a martyr's grave. This combination may well explain the survival of the building.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 161 and n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> See above, Vol. II, pp. 130 ff. and 131.

<sup>3</sup> Koester, *op. cit.* pp. 136 ff. and 137 ff.

R. Anselmetti, S. Colucci

## A. BIBLIOGRAPHY

- FFA MARINO IN FIRENZE. *Annuario*, 1957, p. 213 f.  
 FCA SANTI (San nicola). 1957, p. 99.  
 GIANNI SALVOLI, 1961, p. 194 ff.  
 FRANCESCHI-PARISI, *Los murallas*, 1960, p. 27.  
 FRONZONI, *Notas en excavacions*, 1960, p. 290 f.; 1962, p. 281 f.  
 GIARDINO, *Historia delle scabbio chiesa e monastero di S. Silvestro di Capite di Roma*, Roma, 1769.  
 NALLANO, *Vie*, 1929, 1635, p. 146 ff.  
 MARCONI, *Roma ecclasiaca*, 1951, p. 213 f.  
 BIANCHI, *Roma antica e moderna*, 1913, p. 116 ff.  
 POPPI, *Guastala*, 1901, p. 184 f.  
 PASTORI-POSTERLA CAPRANO, *Roma antica e moderna*, Roma, 1975, p. 176 ff.  
 YON, *Monument de Rome*, Paris, 1910, p. 381 f.  
 CARRETTI, *Monito iconografico della chiesa e monastero di S. Silvestro in Capite*, Roma, 1929.  
 NERI, *Roma nel 1848*, 1910, p. 213 f.  
 FANELLI, *Notas en excavacions*, XI, 1977, p. 53 ff.  
 FANELLI, *Lectura*, IX, 1977, p. 53 ff.  
 LANZANI, Di un frammento inedito della pianta di Roma, *Bull. Comm. 22* (1894), p. 285 ff.  
 HUBER, Il tempio del Sole nella regione VII, *Bull. Comm. 23* (1895), p. 91 ff.  
 LANTINI, Il pianotista di Roma delorato da Antonio van der Wyngaerde, *ibid.*, p. 81 ff., esp. 84 f.  
 FERRARI, Regesta del manistero di S. Silvestro de Capite, *Ann. Soc. Rom. Sto. Pat.*, 22 (1891), pp. 243 ff., 1902, p. 1909, pp. 68 f., 414 f.  
 DOUBLET, NAPI DENIS in Via Lata, *Mé. Et. Franç.*, 29, 1900, p. 157 f.  
 ROSE, *et. Pat.*, I, 1916, p. 81 f.  
 VALLIER, Note on excavation, *Vie*, 16, 91, 4 (1917), p. 984.  
 VALLIER, Notes on excavation below apex, *ibid.*, 5, 1916, p. 172, 211 ff.  
 MARCONI, *Epigraphia*, III, 1906, p. 392 f.  
 HEINZ, *Fano*, 1927, p. 462 f.  
 AMELING-CARRARA, *Fano*, 1942, p. 362 ff.  
 ROSSIGNOL, Un pied de nontrier romain de N. Denis de Paris, *Insulae Italiae*, 62 (1948), p. 118 f.  
 FERRARI, *Monastero*, 1957, p. 392 f.  
 FANELLI, *Diagnosi del bancho in S. Silvestro in Capite in Roma*, *Bull. Carr. 22* (1917), p. 14 f.  
 GIOYARD and I. THOUVENOT, *S. Silvestro in Capite. La Chiesa di Roma Illustrata*, 78, Roma, 1963, with extensive bibliography (not heretofore in GAYNOR-TOURNAI).

## B. ANCIENT DESCRIPTIONS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

## 1. ANCIENT DESCRIPTIONS

- BOISSY, *Voluntas*, Rome, Vatican Library, Vat. lat. 6750, f. 61.  
 BOISSY, *Voluntas*, Rome, Vatican Library, Barb. lat. 2161, f. 29.  
 BOISSY, *Descriptio operis celestiarum*, Rome, Vatican Library, Vat. lat. 11904, f. 46.  
 GIARDINO, *op. cit.* *passim*.  
 CARRETTI, *op. cit.* *passim*.  
 ROME, ARCHIVO DI STATO, documenti citati in GAYNOR-TOURNAI, p. 34 ff.  
 ROME, *Trattato delle Romae*, t. XVIII, Rome, Vatican Library, Vat. lat. 11884, f. 15 ff.  
 CARRETTI, *Voluntas*, Rome, Vatican Library, Vat. lat. 9167, f. 211 f.  
 STAVROUS *Notulas*, Rome, Vatican Library, Vat. lat. 11953, f. 67 f.

## II. ANCIENT ILLUSTRATIONS

1474. ABBONDIO, *Notulae Topog. Romanae*, unpubl. MS. (Strozzi Supp. Vat. Mus., Bul. 13, 1731-1732), Romae, 15 De Romae, Plana, 12, 4.  
 1478. ABBONDIO, *Notulae Topog. Romanae*, unpubl. MS. (Strozzi Supp. Vat. Mus., Bul. 13, 1731-1732), Romae, 14 De Romae, Plana, 12, 4.  
 1479. ABBONDIO, *Notulae Topog. Romanae*, unpubl. MS. (Strozzi Supp. Vat. Mus., Bul. 13, 1731-1732), Romae, 15 De Romae, Plana, 12, 4.  
 1510. PAVANINI, Piana and detached (partial) drawings of S. Silvestro in Capite, from the first 1912 edition of *Voluntas*, unpubl. MS. (Strozzi Supp. Vat. Mus., Bul. 13, 1731-1732), Romae, 14 De Romae, Plana, 12, 4.  
 1541. BIGNARDI, Piana of church and convent, woodcut, *Map of Rome, the Eternal City, Rome at Temp. of Carlo III*, Rome, 1815.  
 1551. DOUBLET, Lasciata View of church and convent, engraving, *Map of Rome*, 1814, Drouot, Rome, print. de Nibby, 1, Rome, 1814, vol. 1, pp. 141.  
 1561. FRONZONI, View of church and convent, drawing, *Notas en excavacion*, below table of main construction, Capite and San. Silvestro, Rome, Archivio di Stato, Coll. Mappa, vol. 66, no. 130.  
 1562. GAYNOR-TOURNAI, *Fano*, 1927, fig. 4, 100.  
 1563. TROTTIER, View of church and convent, woodcut, *Table Roma Propria*, ed. Suardi, Suardi, Roma, 1971, reproduced map of 1661, ed. Tross, Rome at Temp. of Charles III, Vatican City, 1971.  
 1565. FRONZONI, View of facade of church with convent and detached woodcut, *FRONZONI-PARISI. Capite e Monastero*, Rome, 1963, p. 292; also in *FRONZONI. Roma ecclasiaca*, Roma, 1951, p. 213, and in *FRONZONI. Roma antica e moderna*, Roma, 1962, p. 176, fig. 101.  
 1569. GIOYARDINI, View of main facade of monastery complex, engraving, *Roma antica*, Rome, 1914, t. 2, no. 112, fig. 112.  
 1574. MARINI, View of church and convent, woodcut, *Map of Roman Rome*, Map of Roman Empire, Rome at Temp. of Urban VIII, Rome, 1915.  
 1576. FANELLI, View of church and convent, engraving, *Map of Rome and Environs*, Rome at Temp. of Gregory X, Rome, 1917.  
 1577. PASTORI-POSTERLA CAPRANO, View of main facade of convent, woodcut, *Roma antica e moderna*, p. 176.  
 1578. NERI, Piana of church, engraving, *Map of Rome and Environs*, Rome at Temp. of Innocent XI, Vatican City, 1914.  
 1579. ANONIMO, Piana of church, classical building and convent, plan and front, Rome, Archivio di Stato, Coll. Mappa, vol. 66, no. 130 (GAYNOR-TOURNAI, fig. 11).  
 1579-1643. LANTINI, Piana of church, engraving, *Epistola*, III, pl. 919.

## C. DATES

- 761, June 2. Paul I establishes a monastery in his own house, dedicated to Saint Stephen and Andrew, in nomine beatorum Stephano papa et martiris, supra vicus et iugum Christi, in alio loco, non nisi servatis, sicuti solent, *Illustrationes Romanae*, I, vol. 1 (1840), Rome, 1840, p. 143; *Monachia P.L.*, 86, col. 1488. The site of Stephen and Andrew, in plain, in an oratory, founded on an upper base of the monument, *Notulae Topog. Romanae*, unpubl. MS. (Strozzi Supp. Vat. Mus., Bul. 13, 1731-1732), Romae, 14 De Romae, Plana, 12, 4. *FRONZONI. Roma ecclasiaca*, Roma, 1951, p. 213. *FRONZONI. Roma antica e moderna*, Roma, 1962, p. 176. *FRONZONI-PARISI. Capite e Monastero*, Roma, 1963, p. 292. *FRONZONI. Roma ecclasiaca*, Roma, 1951, p. 213. *FRONZONI. Roma antica e moderna*, Roma, 1962, p. 176. *FRONZONI-PARISI. Capite e Monastero*, Roma, 1963, p. 292. *FRONZONI. Roma ecclasiaca*, Roma, 1951, p. 213. *FRONZONI. Roma antica e moderna*, Roma, 1962, p. 176. *FRONZONI-PARISI. Capite e Monastero*, Roma, 1963, p. 292.

<sup>1</sup> The name, Rome, before the year 1087, is usually recorded as "Silvestra", but later records provide the form "Silva" (cf. *Silvestra in Capite*, *Bull. Carr. 22*, 1917, p. 14).



- 1698-1700. The names of the donors of the church are not given.
- 761, July 19 Paul III gives the body of Pope Sixtus to the oratory and
- 761 Paul transfers the relics of Pope Sixtus to the oratory and
- August 17 761 In a letter addressed to *Urbano, nuntius apostolicus ad habitum venerabile, venerabilis sapientis Sixti pape, nuntius ad Sixtus*, and addressed to *Urbano, nuntius apostolicus*, Paul requests the transfer to the oratory of the body of the founder of the oratory, the relic of the tunic of the founder of the oratory, and the possession and custody of the mosaic of Moses. *PL.* 5, col. 1160 f.
- 768 Paul III, in a letter of the appointment to Sixtus III, is referred in custody in the oratory. *Disquisitiones antiquariæ et numismatice Sabinæ antiquarum*. *I.P.* 1, p. 411.
- 799 During a procession from the Lateran to S. Sabina, Sixtus III is accompanied by several other significant oratory mosaics. *Disquisitiones antiquariæ et numismatice Sabinæ antiquarum*. *I.P.* 1, p. 411.
- End VIII cent. 799 The relic of the tunic of the Founder of the oratory, *Disquisitiones antiquariæ et numismatice Sabinæ antiquarum*. *I.P.* 1, p. 411.
- 802-806 Paul III gives two mosaics to the main church: "the other to the oratory" and "the other to the oratory" (see also other items to the oratory) in *Disquisitiones antiquariæ et numismatice Sabinæ antiquarum*. *I.P.* 1, p. 411.
- VIII-IX century Two mosaics, now in the porch of the church, by the relics deposited in the oratory and the oratory (see the respective saints and martyrs) both male and female, the forms including that of a woman (see on December 27) to mention a mosaic of either Saint Stephen or Saint Simeon of the first matter of Saint Dionysius of Paris, October 9 (Gyuvor-Torock, p. 117). Gyuvor. The Photographs of Latin Inscriptions in the English and French Editions of the *Papal Bull* (see p. 117) p. 117. *Disquisitiones antiquariæ et numismatice Sabinæ antiquarum*. *I.P.* 1, p. 411.
- 827-844 Gregory IV debates the relics of the oratory. *Disquisitiones antiquariæ et numismatice Sabinæ antiquarum*. *I.P.* 1, p. 411.
- 844 (?) A bull of Sixtus II mentions the oratory, but the bull is signed *FERRARI, Monasterio*, p. 117.
- 856 The relics of the oratory, *Disquisitiones antiquariæ et numismatice Sabinæ antiquarum*. *I.P.* 1, p. 411.
- January 856 The relics of the oratory, *Disquisitiones antiquariæ et numismatice Sabinæ antiquarum*. *I.P.* 1, p. 411.
- 868 The relics of the oratory, *Disquisitiones antiquariæ et numismatice Sabinæ antiquarum*. *I.P.* 1, p. 411.
- 868-867 Pope Nicola I gives to the oratory the relics of the oratory, *Disquisitiones antiquariæ et numismatice Sabinæ antiquarum*. *I.P.* 1, p. 411.
- 931-936 A bull of John XI for the possession of the oratory. *FERRARI, Monasterio*, p. 117.
- 955 Acquisito II in a bull addressed to Aliter Legatus, *Disquisitiones antiquariæ et numismatice Sabinæ antiquarum*. *I.P.* 1, p. 411.
- 962 A bull of John XII for the possession of the oratory, including the column of Marcus Aurelius. *FERRARI, Monasterio*, p. 117.
- March 8 1119 *Papa Innocentius* "papa" in a papal in the porch of the church "S. Dionysii" regarding the mosaic of the oratory. *FERRARI, Monasterio*, IX, p. 117.

<sup>1</sup> See also the list of the oratory in *Disquisitiones antiquariæ et numismatice Sabinæ antiquarum*. *I.P.* 1, p. 411.

<sup>2</sup> *Disquisitiones antiquariæ et numismatice Sabinæ antiquarum*. *I.P.* 1, p. 411. The oratory is mentioned in the list of the oratory in *Disquisitiones antiquariæ et numismatice Sabinæ antiquarum*. *I.P.* 1, p. 411. The oratory is mentioned in the list of the oratory in *Disquisitiones antiquariæ et numismatice Sabinæ antiquarum*. *I.P.* 1, p. 411. The oratory is mentioned in the list of the oratory in *Disquisitiones antiquariæ et numismatice Sabinæ antiquarum*. *I.P.* 1, p. 411.

- 1123 The relics of the oratory, *Disquisitiones antiquariæ et numismatice Sabinæ antiquarum*. *I.P.* 1, p. 411.
- 1130-1133 The oratory, *Disquisitiones antiquariæ et numismatice Sabinæ antiquarum*. *I.P.* 1, p. 411.
- 1198-1216 The oratory, *Disquisitiones antiquariæ et numismatice Sabinæ antiquarum*. *I.P.* 1, p. 411.
- 1267 Relics of Pope Damasus (found in the Basilica of San Marco) and relics of the oratory, *Disquisitiones antiquariæ et numismatice Sabinæ antiquarum*. *I.P.* 1, p. 411.
- 1285 The oratory, *Disquisitiones antiquariæ et numismatice Sabinæ antiquarum*. *I.P.* 1, p. 411.
- 1290, 1300, 1360 Cardinal Palamides and Cardinal Gregorio (see also Gyuvor-Torock, p. 117).
- 1517, July 1 Leo X gives S. Severino to the rank of cathedral. *Disquisitiones antiquariæ et numismatice Sabinæ antiquarum*. *I.P.* 1, p. 411.
- 1518-1520 A high altar, originally in the oratory, is mentioned in the oratory, *Disquisitiones antiquariæ et numismatice Sabinæ antiquarum*. *I.P.* 1, p. 411.
- 1591-1601 Francesco de Valera and Carlo Marston improve the oratory of the oratory. The oratory, *Disquisitiones antiquariæ et numismatice Sabinæ antiquarum*. *I.P.* 1, p. 411.
- 1598 Relics are mentioned in the oratory. *Disquisitiones antiquariæ et numismatice Sabinæ antiquarum*. *I.P.* 1, p. 411.
- 1698 Clement XI orders a new facade designed by Francesco de Rosa. *Disquisitiones antiquariæ et numismatice Sabinæ antiquarum*. *I.P.* 1, p. 411.
- 1820 Ancient pavement in the oratory. *Disquisitiones antiquariæ et numismatice Sabinæ antiquarum*. *I.P.* 1, p. 411.
- April 20 The oratory, *Disquisitiones antiquariæ et numismatice Sabinæ antiquarum*. *I.P.* 1, p. 411.
- 1871 The oratory, *Disquisitiones antiquariæ et numismatice Sabinæ antiquarum*. *I.P.* 1, p. 411.
- 1876 Work is in progress concerning the oratory and the oratory, *Disquisitiones antiquariæ et numismatice Sabinæ antiquarum*. *I.P.* 1, p. 411.
- 1885 Leo XIII gives S. Severino to the rank of cathedral. *Disquisitiones antiquariæ et numismatice Sabinæ antiquarum*. *I.P.* 1, p. 411.
- 1906-1907 During construction of the new oratory, the oratory, *Disquisitiones antiquariæ et numismatice Sabinæ antiquarum*. *I.P.* 1, p. 411.
- 1962 Excavations before the Chapel of the oratory. *Disquisitiones antiquariæ et numismatice Sabinæ antiquarum*. *I.P.* 1, p. 411.
- 1965 One of the columns of the oratory is mentioned by the *Disquisitiones antiquariæ et numismatice Sabinæ antiquarum*. *I.P.* 1, p. 411.





Fig. 101. S. Silvestro in Capua, interior.

high as the nave but only 7 m wide, the crossing is surmounted by an elliptical dome. Beyond the transept, continuing the nave, steps ascend to the high altar, set against the rear wall of an apsidal presbytery. The rich interior decoration of the church, with stucco work and frescoes covering the vaults and dome, was designed and executed between 1606 and 1694, first by Carlo Rainaldi, and later by Mattia and Domenico de' Rossi, supported by the painters Ludovico Gimignani, Giacinto Brandi, Giuseppe Chiari, Francesco Trevisani and others. The open confessional, which interrupts the transept floor below the dome and in front of the high altar, was constructed only between 1906 and 1908. Stairs descend from the nave to the crater part of the southside, which is flanked by cavern-like bays extending east and west, while a third bay, to the north, penetrates the area beneath the high altar. The pavement of the confessional and of the extensions lies 1.60 m. below the nave.

#### E. ANALYSIS

Within this sixteenth and seventeenth century structure only scanty remains of the original building are identifiable (pl. IX). In the north side of the two lateral bays of the confessional,

left by the north tower, on the right by the western wing of the post-church. On the north side of the court an arched portico of the sixteenth century date shelters a single doorway through which the church is entered. The doorway is set off about 1.40 m. to the left of the center line of church and courtyard. At the west end of the portico is a Romanesque campanile.

The first bay of the nave forms a low inner narthex surmounted by the organ loft which rises, towards the nave, on two columns—one of *trabelloni*, the other of black marble—4.50 m. high, including bases and capitals. Doorways at each end of the narthex lead to chapels: that of the Baptist to the west, of the Sacred Heart to the east. In plan and elevation, though not in decoration, the interior of the church still presents itself as it was rebuilt between 1591 and 1601 under the direction of Francesco da Volterra and Carlo Maderno (pl. IX, fig. 104). A lofty barrel-vaulted nave, measuring 19 m. by 11 m. and 15 m. high, is flanked on each side by three lateral chapels. The nave terminates in a transept the same

foundation of the east wall of the old church but raised (see fig. 101). First attempts at construction to replace the ruined Servian block technique, found in massive Constantinian buildings in Rome. In the north side of the east bay the foundation wall has four courses of roughly-hewn blocks of yellow tuff, each course going to a foot in height. The north wall of the west bay is similar. In each case the superstructure of tuff rises to within a course of the present level pavement



Fig. 102. S. Silvestro in Capua. Foundation wall of east wall of west bay and lower part of superstructure of east bay.



Fig. 103. S. Silvestro in Capua. Foundation wall of north wall of east bay and lower part of superstructure of east bay.

Presumably these tuff walls are the foundation of the original north wall of the church, raised to the substructure of the sixteenth century edifice.

Further foundation walls stand at right angles to the east walls of the first church. The squaring which connects the central part of the confessional to an east bay is cut through a longitudinal wall of the same Servian block masonry, about 1.50 m. thick. The wall is bonded to the north wall, and it crosses the axis of the transept in line with the arcade which forms the three side chapels on the east side of the nave. On the opposite side of the roadway, the archway which opens into the western bay is revealed with modern plaster and the remains of Servian blocks cannot be positively ascertained, but since the wall is also 1.50 m. thick we presume that it corresponds with the eastern foundation wall and also consists of Servian block masonry. Thus ancient foundation walls, of the same material as the north wall and parallel to each other, stand in the northern part of the church in line with the side of the present nave. And it is more than likely that the arched entrances of the three chapels on either side of the baroque confessional are erected on similar foundations, belonging to an antecedent masonry. Interbedded in the structure of the eastern wall-like near its junction with the north foundation wall a fragment of a horizontal slab of marble, about 0.75 m. thick, lies at the top of the Servian block masonry and one meter below the present nave floor. This fragment seems to be part of the pavement at the base of the former colonnade; if so, it indicates the floor level of the building to which the Servian block foundations originally belonged.

In the southeast corner of the church, similar Servian block foundations were discovered in 1962, when a vaulted crypt beneath the Chapel of the Sacred Heart, to the right of the inner narthex, was temporarily opened. The ancient foundations form the south, east and west wall of a subterranean chamber. The south foundation wall stands directly beneath the south wall of the present church, that is, the north wall of the portico. The east foundation wall has the same alignment as the side wall of the present church. The west foundation wall appears to stand in line

<sup>1</sup> The photograph of the interior of the church of S. Silvestro in Capua, Italy, shown here is the work of the author. It is reproduced here with the permission of the publisher. The dimensions of the photograph are 10 cm. by 15 cm. The photograph is the property of the author and is not to be reproduced without the author's permission.

<sup>2</sup> See also the drawing of fig. 101.



Fig. 217. S. Silvestro in Capite. Ground plan of south aisle wall showing the position of the Chapel of the Sacred Heart (1941).



Fig. 218. S. Silvestro in Capite. Column found inside the Chapel of the Sacred Heart (1941).

with the Servian block foundations (noted in the area of the transept). The east and west walls are parallel and stand 2.30 m apart. It is clear that the junction of the south and east walls in the crypt chamber represents the southeast corner of the right hand aisle of the original church, while the west wall represents the stylobate of the nave colonnade. In this stylobate, 0.60 m below present floor level, another marble slab, 0.12 m thick, was found, presumably indicating the floor level of the early building. Upon this slab stands a column erect and imbedded in the masonry of the wall which now divides the corner chapel from the inner narthex (pl. IX, fig. 137). The shaft is of red granite, 0.40 m. in diameter and 3.74 m. in height; it stands on an attic base, 25 cm high, and supports a Corinthian capital of white marble, 40 cm high. South of the column and at a distance of 0.13 m. from the side of the shaft, a rectangular brick pilaster protrudes 0.50 m. from the plane of the south wall. Apparently the pilaster and the column were coupled together to compose the end pier of the former colonnade. Not enough of the pilaster is conserved to allow its date to be judged from the style of the brickwork. What remains is irregularly coursed, and the unusually high modulus of 7 to 8 courses per Roman foot seems more likely to denote the Romanesque period than any other. The south wall of the aisle, now of the Chapel of the Sacred Heart, appears to have been rebuilt or refaced in recent times.

During the restoration of the church in 1965, a second column was uncovered inside the west wall of the nave, which separates it from the Chapel of Sant' John the Baptist off the inner narthex (pl. IX, fig. 138). The column, visible from the chapel, is located 3.10 m. from the inner face of the façade wall; it appears to have the same measurements as the column found inside the Chapel of the Sacred Heart. Obviously it was the second support in the left hand colonnade of the nave. Presumably, as is likely, an arrangement of a coupled pilaster and column at the beginning of the left hand colonnade like the one found to the right, the distance from center to center between first and second columns is 3.25 m.

## E. RECONSTRUCTION

The Servian block foundations, the remains of the south and plan of the east colonnade and a few unaltered columns enable us to reconstruct the basic outline of the church in which they have longed. Apparently it was a simple basilica with a nave roughly 10 m wide, flanked by aisles about 5 m wide and some 31 m long. Presumably the aisles were separated from the nave by colonnades whose approximate level is indicated by floor slabs found in two places, 0.60 and 1.00 below the modern level. The column discovered in the Chapel of the Sacred Heart and of Sant' John the Baptist indicate the height of the colonnades, 4.40 m including base and capitals. One or two similar columns also of granite are said to be hidden inside the pier on the left side of the nave; they were seen in 1845 but are no longer visible.<sup>1</sup> The height of the two columns supporting the organ loft ca. 1.50 m suggests that they too may come from the original colonnades. But none of the columns is likely to occupy its original position, and presumably they were relocated in a medieval rebuilding. Certainly such rearrangement of the colonnades is suggested by the coupling of column and pier at the south end of the original right hand aisle—a distinctly medieval rather than a Carolingian practice. From its form, the coupled support is more likely to have supported a latel than an arch and, if so, the nave colonnade would have been trabeated, however, arching is not entirely impossible. In any event the masonry of the pier seems Romanesque and is thus useless for reconstructing the original church. The intercolumniations in the Romanesque remodeling, as given by the position of the two known columns, were apparently 3.20 m,<sup>2</sup> and since the total length of the nave was 31.60 m, the number of intercolumniations was presumably ten. On the other hand, spacing and number of columns in the first church and all details of the clerestory remain completely unknown.

The placing of the campanile against the south end of the west aisle toward 1300<sup>3</sup> suggests that the church then faced south, towards the center of the medieval city as it does today. Since this would also be the natural direction of approach when the first church was built, it is likely that the orientation has never been changed. A further indication regarding the approach is provided by the *Liber Pontificalis*. The Tiber, in 896 and 1060 flooded the center of town along Via Flaminia, rising as high as the lintel of the entrance to S. Maria in Via Lata and<sup>4</sup> the uppermost of the steps ascending to the church<sup>5</sup> at S. Silvestro in Capite.<sup>6</sup> In the eighth century the door lintel of the diaconia of S. Maria in Via Lata was approximately 2.50 m below the modern street on the other hand, the original pavement of S. Silvestro in Capite was only 0.50 to 1.00 m below the present nave and street level. Since the top of the steps mentioned in the *Liber Pontificalis* would have been 1.40 to 1.50 m below this level, the steps could not have ascended to the church itself, but only to an intermediate level somewhere between the nave and the present pavement of the Roman enclosure which lie buried 1.00 m below Piazza S. Silvestro.<sup>7</sup> Such an intermediate level is found in the stretch of marble pavement which was seen in front of the forecourt at a depth of 2.40 m, that is, 3.60 m above the classical travertine pavement and exactly at the level of the door lintel at S. Maria in Via Lata. Having a width of 3.20 m, the marble pavement could have belonged to a porch preceding the forecourt of the church, or—if it lay at some distance

<sup>1</sup> *Trattato di Giovanni De' Dotti*, pp. 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

<sup>2</sup> *Silvestro, Ippolito*, p. 136.

<sup>3</sup> See above, *Arch. Soc. Rom.*, also Vol. III, p. 76.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 132, and 133, note 1.

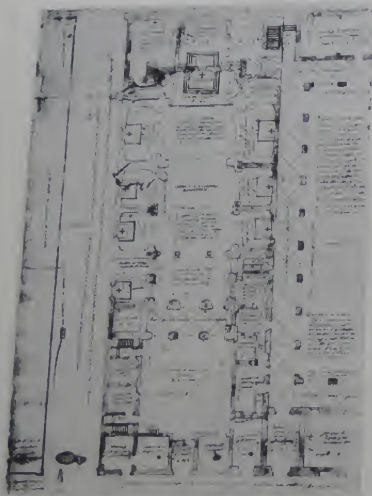


Fig. 106. S. MARIE in VIA LATI. Francesco da Viterba's Project for remodeling of Basilica and interior, 1570.

columns which Tangheroni shows in the left hand nave visible in fabrication and alteration of structure being mutually exclusive — for their counterpart in twelfth and thirteenth century building (plans 231 Rome) as in the upper church of S. Clemente, the early twelfth century Quattro Coronati, and the twelfth century remodeling of S. Vitale<sup>10</sup>. A similar date is indicated by the possible accession of the north bay of the left hand aisle into a low transept, as is suggested by the wide space between the last pier of the arcade and the end wall of the church,

from the floor level of the original building<sup>11</sup>. The steps ascending from the Roman, ascending pavement to the post-Roman building would have numbered ten or eleven; either nine or ten steps would have continued up to the atrium and church.

The church that existed before Francesco da Viterba's rebuilding is more easily envisaged. The evidence consists of a few remarks by Fra Mariano and Ugolino, Fra Sante's woodcut, the plan of the project submitted by Francesco da Viterba (fig. 106), and a survey with measurements made by Tangheroni in 1578 in connection with the project for a new high altar niche designed by Michelangelo<sup>12</sup>. However, none of these sources contributes much to our knowledge of the original structure, and the majority of features noted would appear to date from the high and late Middle Ages. The alternating piers and col-

The steep (1:3) steps were stepped in proportion to the orthostates of the second-century masonry in Italy. Finally, the floor slabs are also stepped (the area of the high altar being laid in "cubic stones only, raised, succeeding each other from the end of the chancel to the east of the last column crossing"). The Chapel of the Baptist, 1500-1505, part of the left hand aisle, probably dates from the post-Roman, but has remains in situ. Finally, situated in the place where the Chapel of the Sacred Heart was, not the adjoining nave was, were built up from the church, as they appear on the plan of 1578.

The only elements of Tangheroni's plan which probably go back to the first church, are the perimeter walls, except of course, those of the chancel. The proportions of length and width as given by Tangheroni coincide with the plan of the foundation walls expanded in 1568 to the upper transept and in 1662 below the Chapel of the Sacred Heart. The difference in thickness between east and west foundations wall has to be taken into account; the width of the nave on the plan is 20.90 m. (107.2 feet), as against 24.00 m. between the foundation walls; the length including the thickness of the locale is 25.75 m. (84.50 feet), as against 31 m. the right hand side foundation wall (24.00 m. (78.74 feet)) at against 31 m. It is probable that the expansion of the nave, as it appears on Tangheroni's plan and as it still exists, goes back to the first church, presumably, it was completed by the colonnades of a quadriporticus. Indeed, until the rebuilding of the nave church in 1662 to 1736, a colonnaded narthex existed in front of the nave. Its four columns carried an arcade, shown on Diptera's map (fig. 105), and its left hand end part prepared from the east wall of the campanile, but Ugolino saw the narthex already rebuilt<sup>13</sup>. Then the narthex as conceived by Tangheroni was either contemporary with or later than the quadriporticus, which was built about 1560, but in plan this medieval atrium may well have existed an earlier time, situated at a level about 1.50 m. lower.

The date of the high altar noted on Tangheroni's plan of 1578 remains doubtful. Situated in the chancel and roughly 1.50 m. above the main level, it apparently was always contained at one level. A canopy carried by four piers probably surrounded the altar<sup>14</sup>. Since both a chancel and a canopy are mentioned in the biographical text of the altar<sup>15</sup>, it is tempting to view this altar as the one erected by the builders of the first church. On the other hand, the approach to the high altar and its confession are suggestive of high medieval rather than early medieval art. Two flights of nine steps broken by a landing ascended from the nave to the altar (also a passage of nine steps, between the two flights, opened an approach to the *tribuna* of the confessional<sup>16</sup>). The arrangement is known in Rome from the high altar of St. Peter's in the late sixth to that of S. Genesio in Velabro in the twelfth or thirteenth century<sup>17</sup>. To us it seems likely, although not certain, that the altar which existed in S. Silvestro was erected during the high Middle Ages rather than the eighth century. However, assuming it was medieval, it is still not certain if the altar seen the one constructed in 1568 or a thirteenth century replacement<sup>18</sup>. In the thirteenth century S. Silvestro apparently received a set of eschatoptric furniture which survived until the time of Francesco da Viterba, and in part possibly until today. In the middle of the sixteenth century, "un altro pulpito di pietra di terra fugga i lavori adobe"<sup>19</sup>. Presumably it was this pulpit<sup>20</sup> that *il detto Cervoglio*<sup>21</sup> which in 1568 was dismantled<sup>22</sup> and acquired by Cardinal Barrolo for his office, left in SS. Negro di

<sup>10</sup> *Forme di Basilica*, etc., p. 23 and 24, and 25.

<sup>11</sup> *Forme di Basilica*, etc., p. 24, and 25, and 26.

<sup>12</sup> *Forme di Basilica*, etc., p. 24, and 25, and 26.

<sup>13</sup> *Forme di Basilica*, etc., p. 24, and 25, and 26.

<sup>14</sup> *Forme di Basilica*, etc., p. 24, and 25, and 26.

<sup>15</sup> *Forme di Basilica*, etc., p. 24, and 25, and 26.

<sup>16</sup> *Forme di Basilica*, etc., p. 24, and 25, and 26.

<sup>17</sup> *Forme di Basilica*, etc., p. 24, and 25, and 26.

<sup>18</sup> *Forme di Basilica*, etc., p. 24, and 25, and 26.

<sup>19</sup> *Forme di Basilica*, etc., p. 24, and 25, and 26.

<sup>20</sup> *Forme di Basilica*, etc., p. 24, and 25, and 26.

<sup>21</sup> *Forme di Basilica*, etc., p. 24, and 25, and 26.

<sup>22</sup> *Forme di Basilica*, etc., p. 24, and 25, and 26.

Adulfus<sup>1</sup> is usually identified with the octagonal pulpit in *Sancti Stephani*, but this is probably of sixteenth century date, and cannot be the "*pulpitu cum un' b'is de p'cto m'cto*" or "*sed, cum lignis a domo adornatis*" which Giachetti and Legrain describe. The medieval ambo, instead of being used at SS. Nereo ed. Achilleo, probably went to S. Cesareo in Via Appia, instead of being used at SS. Nereo ed. Achilleo, in 1702. There it still stands, though recomposed and with other fragments inserted. Given the close resemblance between this pulpit and other pieces of consuetary furniture used at both SS. Nereo ed. Achilleo and S. Cesareo, it seems possible that some of these *diversa membra* likewise came originally from S. Silvestro in Capite.

Nothing can be established concerning the form or exact location of the oratory "on the upper floor of the monastery" to which the church belonged and where, at the time of the foundation, were deposited the relics of Saints Stephen and Sylvester.

#### G. CHRONOLOGY

The *Libri Pontificalis* records that Paul I (758-762) established in his own house a monastery dedicated to Saint Stephen and the Blessed Sylvester, and a bull of Paul I dated July 4, 761, states that the monastery was founded "in the house which I [Paul] inherited from my parents and where I was brought up". In the biography, the compiler of the *L.P.* adds that the pope built a church within the convent, decorated it with marble, mosaic, an altar canopy and furnishings of gold and silver, and deposited in it "numberless relics of saints brought from the ruined catacombs". But he fails to reveal the name of the saint to whom the church was dedicated. On the other hand, the writer expressly reports that the pope also built an oratory on the upper walls (or floors) of the monastery as a resting place for the relics of the patron saints of the monastery, Saints Stephen and Sylvester.<sup>2</sup> Throughout the pontificate of Stephen III (768-772) and Leo III (795-816) events take place in, and gifts are made to, the monastery of Saint Sylvester or Saints Stephen and Sylvester and to both the *oratorium* and the *basilica minor*. Beginning with the pontificate of Gregory IV (827-844), donations to the oratory cease while those to the church continue. But soon after the middle of the ninth century *no patronium* is listed for the church.

On the other hand, an inscription tablet of eighth century date, preserved in the narthex of the present church, lists the festival of the Pope Saint Dionysius among those of numerous male saints whose relics were housed in the church, while a second tablet lists the festivals of the female saints.<sup>3</sup> Indeed, after the middle of the ninth century, Saint Dionysius appears as the patron saint of the church and the oratory within the monastery of Saint Sylvester. In 812 and 810 the flood of the Tiber penetrates the "*monasterium [ex ecclesia] sancti Silvestri*" and covers the steps, except the last, ascending "in basilica [or basilium] beati Dionysii".<sup>4</sup> The wording "*ecclesia*" instead of "*monasterium sancti Silvestri*" in the biography of Benedict III has led to the hypothesis that the steps in question led from the church to the oratory, the former being dedicated to Saint Sylvester, the latter to Saint Dionysius; but the term "*ecclesia*" in the passage under discussion is evidently a *lapsus calami* of the compiler. All documents clearly place the oratory under the patronage of Saint Sylvester

(and sometimes, of Saint Stephen), while beginning with the pontificate of Benedict III, the latter church bears the name of Saint Dionysius. Nicholas I (858-859) is elected pope "*in basilica beati Dionysii confessoris aique pontificis*", and he donates a set of altar curtains "*in monasterio sancti Stephani et Silvestri ... in ecclesia minore qui vocatur Sancti Dionysii*".<sup>5</sup> The wording does not leave the identity of the patron saint in doubt; he is the Pope Dionysius (259-268) whose remains, until transferred by Paul I, had been resting in the catacomb of S. Callisto on the Via Appia.<sup>6</sup> The identification of the titular saint with Saint Denis of Paris, that is, Dionysius the Areopagite, was first hinted at by Abbot Hilduin of St. Denis about 837, with the added implication that the real founder of church and monastery was not Paul I, but his brother and predecessor Stephen II. The lists crystallized into a tradition, recorded about the year 1000 by Benedict of Soanec, according to which a church dedicated to Saint Denis of Paris and his companions Eleutherius and Rusticus was founded by Stephen II "*iuxta Via Flammensia, non longe ab Augusta iuxta Formam*".<sup>7</sup> For a long time scholarly opinion accepted this tradition and identified Stephen as the founder and Saint Denis of Paris as the patron saint of S. Silvestro in Capite. The visit of Stephen to Pepin the Short and his stay in Paris and St. Denis, used already by Hilduin as evidence, seemed to corroborate the thesis.<sup>8</sup> However, recent research has proved conclusively that the entire thesis rests on nothing more solid than Hilduin's imagination.<sup>9</sup> The shift of the patron saint of the church from Pope Dionysius to Saint Sylvester, originally the patron of the monastery, seems not to have taken place before the high Middle Ages.<sup>10</sup> The surname of *Capite* — first seen in a document of 1194 — refers to the skull of Saint John the Baptist, supposedly taken from Constantinople and brought to the monastery in the pontificate of Innocent II, 1130-1135.<sup>11</sup>

The foundation walls in the open confession and beneath the southeast corner of the building seem to belong to the church built by Paul I. The technique of making foundations with tufa blocks from the Servian wall was widespread in Rome under the Carolingian popes, from Hadrian I until after the middle of the ninth century, but the practice seems to have started before: S. Angelo in Pescheria is an early example dating from 752 or 772.<sup>12</sup> S. Silvestro, laid out between 752 and 762, is a close parallel. Its plan, though known only in outline, seems to anticipate a common type of Carolingian church in Rome: a sizable nave with aisles, presumably separated by colonades.

The remodeling of the church during the high Middle Ages appears to have taken place in a number of successive building campaigns; the rebuilding of the high altar and its reconstruction in 1123, accompanied presumably by the refurbishing of the sanctuary, construction of the campanile west of the narthex, under Innocent III and, possibly, a new consuetary pavement in one chapel; finally, the changes undertaken by the nuns of Saint Clare after 1255, which included building the deep chancel and, from 1290 to 1380, covering the right hand aisle into a row of chapels. The building of the left hand nave colonnade with alternating supports and the replace-

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 168-170.

<sup>2</sup> *Diplome* specimen of 1194. Cf. *Acta pontificis Dionysii in Capite*. LITZNER, *In der Kirche Martialis* (Wien: List, 1874), pp. 2. See LITZNER, op. cit. p. 119.

<sup>3</sup> *Fastenbuch*, op. cit. 1866, p. 121; *Monum. Lat.* p. 496.

<sup>4</sup> *DECRETUM*, 80-81, p. 103; *LITZNER*, op. cit. 1866, p. 121; *DECRETUM*, *Das Verzeichniss der Bistümer von Italien* (Quaracchi: Collegium de S. Bonifacio, 1887), p. 13 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *LITZNER*, *ibid.* p. 121.

<sup>6</sup> *Acta*. See also *DECRETUM*, *ibid.* The fact of 259, attributed to Sergius II, and of the monastery established by Nereus and Achilleus and Dionysius is apparently spurious, both in wording and chronology. *DECRETUM*, op. cit. 1866, p. 121; and *DECRETUM*, *ibid.* 1887, p. 121.

<sup>7</sup> See above, Vol. I, p. 94 ff. esp. 68 ff.

<sup>8</sup> *DECRETUM*, *ibid.* p. 496 ff. referring to *DECRETUM*, op. cit. 1866.

<sup>1</sup> *DECRETUM*, *ibid.* p. 121.

<sup>2</sup> *Mittheilungen über die Basilika von S. Silvestro in Capite*. *Monum. Lat.* 386, pp. 11-12, 11 ff. and pl. 16 ff. Martini assumes that the structure at S. Cesareo corresponds to the *basilica beati Dionysii* of the *Fastenbuch*. See also *DECRETUM*, *ibid.* 1887, p. 121, and *DECRETUM*, *ibid.* 1887, p. 121 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *DECRETUM*, *ibid.* p. 121.

<sup>4</sup> *DECRETUM*, *ibid.* p. 121.

<sup>5</sup> See above, pp. 168 and 169 ff. In *DECRETUM*, *ibid.* 1887, p. 121, 122.

ground of the wall portions of this side by a short transept which may well be linked to the work mentioned in 1275.

The early construction of the church, in particular that of 1275-80 (220-2300) clearly created the present barrel-vaulted nave, the Chalking Chapel, and the transept including the domed crossing, which have described in detail and well documented by Maria Teresa.

#### II. HISTORICAL POSITION

The existing features of the eighth century church allow us to do more than outline the plan, and this shows us characteristic words of special note. The importance of the finds due to the fact that they provide a well-dated early example of the building technique which employs block masonry derived from the Servian city wall for foundations, the technique which subsequently became typical for Carolingian church construction in Rome.

#### S. SISTO VECCHIO

(R. Anonimo, S. Coste)

#### A. BIBLIOGRAPHY

- ERRI MARINO DA FIRENZE, *Intervento* (187), p. 195 f.  
 UGURIO, *Statuto*, 1680, c. 166 ff.  
 PASQUOLI, *Trattato nuovo*, 1680 ff. 214 f., 216 f., p. 671 ff.  
 SIVIERONI, *Vite* (Cass. 1874), p. 121 ff.  
 MARITELLI, *Roma ex orbis urbe*, 1673, p. 315 ff.  
 MARASSONI, *Casa ventitré*, 1744, p. 261.  
 TETI, *Decorazione delle pitture*, 1783, pp. 72-73 ff.  
 VASI, *Incanto di Roma*, I, Rome, 1787, p. 175 ff.  
 NIBBY, *Roma nel 1830*, 1839, p. 219 ff.  
 FORCELLI, *Intervento*, N. 1877, p. 535 ff.  
 KLING, *Il Piano*, I, 1896, p. 190.  
 MARICCHI, *Basilique*, III, 1922, p. 168.  
 DIMASCHI, *La Campagna Romana*, II, Rome, 1916, p. 25 ff.  
 KIESER, *Tafelbuch*, 1911, p. 81 ff.  
 HUBER, *Gloss*, 1927, p. 470 f.  
 Excavation Report, *Roma*, *Pont. Anst.*, 19 (1930), p. 174.  
 Excavation Report, *R. Q.*, 31, 44 (1940), p. 294 f.  
 Excavation Report, *Arch. Anst.*, 52 (1942), p. 192.  
 ZUCCHI, *Roma Democratica*, I, Florence, 1938, p. 199 ff.  
 BUCCHETTI, "San Sisto Vecchio", *L'Espresso*, Roma, Jan. 1974, 11-12, 1981.  
 ARBUSTINI, *Chiese* (1911), pp. 613 ff., 1171 f.  
 KOLLEKA, "Le Monasterium Tempuli et la fondation des églises de San Sisto", *Abhandl. Prehist. Inst. Basel* (1961), p. 3 ff., esp. 38 ff.  
 ROMANO, "Antico il blocco in S. Sisto Vecchio a Roma", *Boll. d'Arte* (1931), p. 63 ff.  
 FORNÈ, *Monasterio*, 1957, p. 69 ff.  
 URBAN, "Kirchenbaukunst", 1961, p. 275.

#### B. ANCIENT DESCRIPTIONS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

##### I. ANCIENT DESCRIPTIONS

- UGURIO, *Statuto*, Rome, Vatican Library, Barb. lat. 2186, f. 67-145.  
 ROSSI, *Descrizione atop. esortazioni*, Rome, Vatican Library, Vat. lat. 11624, f. 90 ff.  
 UGURIO, *Statuto*, c. 174.  
 PASQUOLI, *Trattato nuovo*, 1680, p. 704.  
 BRUNO, *Theatrum Romanae Urbis*, XVI, Rome, Vatican Library, Vat. lat. 11886, f. 147 ff.  
 STEVENSON, *Statute*, Rome, Vatican Library, Vat. lat. 10773, f. 75.

##### II. ANCIENT ILLUSTRATIONS

1474. ANONYMOUS, View of church, facade and campanile, pen and ink, Map of Rome, Florence, Bibl. Laurentiana, Red. 77 (De Rossi, *Piccola*, pl. 4).  
 1534. ANONYMOUS, Schematic view of church from northwest showing apse and campanile, fresco, Map of Rome, Palazzo Ducale, Mantua, probably from printwork of below (De Rossi, *Piccola*, pl. 3); FROST, *Piccola di Roma*, II, pl. 167.  
 1551. BUFALINI, Plan of church and convent, woodcut, Map of Rome (d. LINDI, *Roma et tempa di Giulio*, 1913), FROST, *Piccola di Roma*, III, pl. 420.

- 1411 DEFRONS LATERAN. Builders' view from rear, showing apse, campaniliform lantern, and apse. Map of Rome, 1751, ed. FABRIZI, *Roma prima di Pio I.* (Rome, 1928), FABRIZI, *Planus de Roma*, II, pl. 29.<sup>1</sup>
- 1412 FABRIZI. View of facade from campanilium. *Cosa rampante*, 6. 66 (with fig. 149).
- 1413 TREUTNER. Builders' view from west showing apse, church, campanile and convent, woodcut. *Cosa Roma Proprie*, ed. SERRA, Stockholm, 1671; FABRIZI, *Planus de Roma*, II, pl. 267. Republished map of 1666 of FABRIZI, *Roma al tempo di Gregorio VIII.* Vatican City, 1912.
- 1414 MASSI. View of church from rear showing apse, campanile, tower of facade, engraving. *Magno Magnifico Lud. Masini* (ed. FABRIZI), *Roma al tempo di Urban VIII.* Rome, 1916; FABRIZI, *Planus de Roma*, II, pl. 315.
- 1415 FABRIZI. View of church and convent from southwest, engraving. Map of Rome (ed. FABRIZI), *Roma al tempo di Innocenzo XI.* Rome, 1916; FABRIZI, *Planus de Roma*, III, pl. 320.
- 1416 NOLLI. Schematic ground plan of church and precinct, engraving. Map of Rome (ed. FABRIZI), *Roma al tempo di Benedetto XIV.* Vatican City, 1916; FABRIZI, *Planus de Roma*, III, pl. 321.
- 1417 VALLI. View of facade and courtyard, engraving. *Della magnificenza di Roma*, III, Rome, 1744, pl. 38.

## C. DATES

- 399-401? Pope Anastasius built or funds a basilica: *facti . basilicam parva de iure . Constantiana in regione II . in Minervina . in urbe Roma* (L. P., I, p. 218). Based on the appearance among the structures of the second of 400 of a homonymous titulus, its disappearance in 1862, and the appearance instead of the "titulus sancti Stephani" in the basilica Constantiana has been identified with S. Stefano Venerabile. *Kaiser, Zeitschrift*, p. 23 ff. While this identification is likely, it requires further proof (see below, p. 124 f.).
- 499 The presbytery, Donatus and Vincentialis: *titulus Constantianus* signs the decisions of the third ecumenical council (M. G. H., *Act. Conc. III*, pp. 352, 434).
- 591 A Roman lawyer on his deathbed foretells his burial: *per viam Apsianam ad beati Stephani Ecclesiam in urbe presbyteriam* . . . (GREGORY THE GREAT, *Dialogues*, IV, 96, *Monks, P. L.*, 77, col. 56d), but the passage could refer either to S. Stefano Venerabile or to the ceremonial church of Pope ANASTASIUS II at S. Callisto.<sup>1</sup>
- 595 The restoration of the sacred field: *Et signa sunt signata by the presbyter Fraxus "titulus sancti Stephani"* (M. G. H., *Epistolae*, I, p. 267).
- 600 Gregory the Great refers in a letter (NL, 15, 16): *Basilicam presbyteri Stephani sancti Stephani* (ibid., II, p. 373).
- 721 Joachim, presbyter: *titulus Sancti Stephani* signs the protocol of the synod of that year (MASSI, *Acta Conciliorum III*, Paris, 1714, col. 1867).
- 722-795 Hadrian I restores the church: *titulus sancti Stephani in basilica Urbana in nona . romanorum urbis* (L. P., I, p. 597 f.).
- end VIII The Eusebius in literature notes the church as "titulus" and "ad rem titulum" (LANGENS, *Itin. Eusebianum*, cols. 445, 444).
- 802-806 Pius II, Lev III, Honorius III in *titulus beati Stephani* a textile, and in 806 in *refectus beati Stephani martyris alpe porticus* ("two short crosses" (L. P., II, pp. 12, 20)).
- 827-844 Gregory IX denotes a purple textile: *habituarius vestis Danabelli* . . . *in refectus beati Stephani martyris alpe porticus* (L. P., II, p. 74).

<sup>1</sup> The restoration of the church, still regarded as the site in preparation for its final use, is noted in the text.  
<sup>2</sup> Although the date of the restoration is uncertain, it is possible that the church was built by St. Peter of Adula, with episcopal support, after the death of the emperor. *Historia*, p. 22, suggests a 1000-2. "Sicut Constantiana" is the text in a 10th-century text.  
<sup>3</sup> The church of the same name, and described as Constantian, is mentioned in the *Itinerarium* of the same author, but the passage has generally been taken as referring to S. Stefano Venerabile. *Historia*, p. 22, has taken it to be the church of the same name.  
<sup>4</sup> *Historia*, *Constantiana*, *Christus*, p. 20. The text is a 10th-century text, but it is not clear if it refers to the church under Gregory II and Paul I, or to the church of the same name.

<sup>5</sup> The church is also mentioned in the *Itinerarium* of the same author. *Historia*, *Constantiana*, *Christus*, p. 20.

- 847-855 The "Constantian" church, a church of the same name, but of a different name, is mentioned in the text.  
 IX cont. or later  
 1198-1216 Innocent III restores the church: *titulus sancti Stephani* . . . (L. P., II, p. 107).  
 1219 Innocent III restores the church of S. Stefano. The restoration of the church of S. Stefano, near the Vatican, is mentioned in the text. *Historia*, *Constantiana*, *Christus*, p. 20.  
 1220-1221 The Decretum notes the church: *titulus sancti Stephani* . . . (L. P., II, p. 107).  
 1222 A synodal decree, *titulus sancti Stephani* . . . (L. P., II, p. 107).  
 1471-1484 Sixtus IV and Cardinal Pietro Ferrini. *Constantianus titulus* . . . (L. P., II, p. 107).  
 The extent of the work is also given by the *Itinerarium* of the same author, which mentions the church as the church of the same name, but of a different name. *Historia*, *Constantiana*, *Christus*, p. 20.  
 1582 Filippo Buonaiuti reports the church: *titulus sancti Stephani* . . . (L. P., II, p. 107).  
 1619-1638 Giovanni Battista and Leonard and Bernardino. *Historia*, *Constantiana*, *Christus*, p. 20.  
 1727 The rebuilding of the church is mentioned in the text. *Historia*, *Constantiana*, *Christus*, p. 20.  
 1865 Through the efforts of Fr. Joseph Mellini, the church is restored and rededicated. *Historia*, *Constantiana*, *Christus*, p. 20.  
 1936-1938 The remains of the original church are discovered by Eugenio Piccini, including the remains of the church within the present site, with the apse and fragments of late medieval masonry. *Historia*, *Constantiana*, *Christus*, p. 20.

<sup>1</sup> The archaeological evidence of the rebuilding is given in the text.



## D. GENERAL DESCRIPTION

The church of S. Sisto Vecchio stands beside the Passerina Archibasilica directly across the Via Appia from SS. Nicola ed Achilleo and not far from S. Cesare in Via Appia. Its axis is parallel to the ancient roadway and its apse therefore points north-west but, for brevity, we shall treat it as pointing due west. Originally it was an apsidal basilica with aisles. Today only the nave and apse are used, serving as the church of the adjoining Dominican monastery (pl. X). The site of the right aisle is occupied by the south wing of a sixteenth or seventeenth century cloister, while the left aisle is divided into several chambers of the convent, the largest housing part of a printing press. Within



Fig. 140. S. Sisto Vecchio. Façade, exterior view.



Fig. 141. S. Sisto Vecchio. Side view.

the walls of the original Early Christian nave are covered by the eighteenth century decoration of the church. A chancel and apse, narrower than the present nave and also narrower than the Early Christian apse, were inserted, apparently in the fifteenth century, into the space formed by the last bay of the original nave and the apse. A Romanesque campanile, about 4 m. square, stands between the north wall of the present church and the vestibule of the main doors, that is, inside the area of the original nave. The cloister in its present form is late, but it seems to replace one built by Honorius III. Surviving elements of this medieval cluster are but few: a short stretch of pavement in the south wing in front of the chapter house, indicating its original level, the layout of the chapter house with groin vaults supported on two columns, and the chapter house façade.<sup>1</sup>

On the exterior the church and the adjoining convent buildings show only features of sixteenth and eighteenth century design: in the main façade facing east, the portal dates from Filippo Buoncompagni's cardinalate, 1572 to 1586 (fig. 140); while the articulation by double pilasters and pilaster strips and the quadrifid windows in the main façade and along the south flank must be attributed to the remodeling directed by Raguzini in 1727 (fig. 141).

<sup>1</sup> See Bilsbacke, *ibid.*, 1100.

## E. ANALYSIS

Although the eighteenth century decorations of the nave (nos. 140, 141) (nos. 142, 143b) on the original main part of the altar have been preserved, on the right side from the cloister aisle, and on the left side from the printing press chamber, they conceal a few of the column and arcade shafts, which originally separated the aisle from the aisle. Evidently the ground level has risen considerably since the church was built: the tops of the column shafts are only 0.50 m. above the present floor level, and the base of the only fully excavated shaft visible from the



Fig. 143. S. Sisto Vecchio. Column base and shaft, seen from cloister wing (left) and printing press chamber.



Fig. 142. S. Sisto Vecchio. Column base and shaft, made seen from cloister or basement (right).



Fig. 143. S. Sisto Vecchio. Column base and shaft, made seen from cloister or basement (right).

cloister rests 3.75 m. below that level (fig. 142). The pavement of the aisle seen in 1936 (fig. 142). The column shafts are plain grey granite, outlined and accented 4.90 m. high. They are surmounted by simple composite capitals of grey marble with fully sculptured leaves, volutes and shaft. While leaves and volutes are blocked out without sculptured detail, the shafts (as well) show the abacus by a doubled strip and the volutes are surmounted by curved ridges (fig. 143). The top

<sup>1</sup> The drawing is taken by the permission of M. J. de Haeck from a drawing in the collection of the Institut für Kunstgeschichte der Universität Wien. Copyright with the Institut für Kunstgeschichte der Universität Wien.



Fig. 143. S. Simeo (Vercelli). Arch of north transept showing two shafts springing from a single pier.

shafts are uniform in position but vary in height from 0.39 to 0.50 m. Above each shaft rests a plain rectangular marble pinnaculum from which spring the archivolts of the nave arcade, the pinnacles being from 0.15 to 0.19 m. high. The distances between the columns from center to center average 3.12 m. The vault in the rear of the chapter house rests on two columns of the same set. In addition to providing a good view of the shafts in their full height, 3.49 m. and 3.52 m., and of the capitals, the plan, like the columns in fig. 142, shows attic bases. The capitals are 0.42 and 0.45 m. high, the bases, 0.26 and 0.14 m. respectively. These differences in height may indicate that shafts, capitals and bases are spolia, while the pinnacles were adjusted to bring the springing of the arches to the same level, 4.27 m.

The archivolts are constructed of bipedals varying in length from 0.57 to 0.62 m. and set with little attention to radiality, the lowest voussoirs are steeply tilted with the help of one or two small horizontally set bricks (fig. 145). As the imposts are only 0.50 m. square, the lowest voussoirs in every arch are considerably less than half the full bipedal size. The mortar joints between the voussoir bricks are carefully troweled and occasionally worked to a convex, prismatic apex surface. The horizontal brick coursing in the spandrels is executed with thick mortar beds worked

<sup>1</sup> The lower portion was possibly made in place from the brick.

to a smooth face a little beyond the brick face, the modulus is exactly 4 courses per R. O. The mortar beds (comp. from 24 to 30 mm. with an average of 25 mm.) are thus approximately equal the bricks in thickness.

Four columns with pinnacles or shafts, originally have been incorporated in the north colonnade (fig. 142, fig. 143) and are visible from the exterior. In addition, a fragment of the southwestern end pier of the same colonnade is exposed at the southeast corner of the building, and is visible



Fig. 144. S. Simeo (Vercelli). Capital, North Transept.



Fig. 145. S. Simeo (Vercelli). Lateral Chanceler upper (showing imposts) and (background) left chancel pier (showing similar and other shafts) formed by brick spandrel.

right of the present high altar (fig. 146). The end pier is of brick with the same characteristics noted in the spandrels. Assuming the Romanesque comparable to occupy the south side of the original colonnade, we surmise from these surviving elements that originally there must have been thirteen arches in the north nave arcade.

The portion of the south colonnade which has been exposed in the wall of the painting room includes two surviving capitals and the remains of six archivolts, all very much like the ones noted on the north side of the nave. Presumably both arcades supported chanceler walls; it may be conjectured that the original walls probably survive on each side of the present church, embedded in the upper rooms of the convent and at present not visible. The removal of plaster in these upper rooms would probably reveal the outlines of the original chanceler windows, but for the time being these remain hidden.

At the west end of the church, narrow doorways in the lateral wall on either side of the high altar give access to two small chambers used to store altar furniture. The chamber to the right has no special features, but the one on the left includes the remains of the terminal archivolts of the

south nave, namely the subterranean part and a large part of the original apse (fig. 147).<sup>1</sup> In addition, the blocking of the north arcade and the removal of the smaller inserted apse, and two other insertions. The blocking consists of good brickwork, obviously medieval, and contains the jambs of a small window which in turn was blocked at a later time. The masonry of the inserted apse and its foundation, like the other level, is roman and composed of brick, tuff, and travertine and blocks of stone in a manner characteristic of the early Christian construction in Rome (fig. 147, right side). The brick pier at the original nave arcade projects 1.00 m. from the chord of the original apse. At this point there is an offset in the wall face, 0.15 m. wide and hence indicating an apse width only of 0.15 m. over and above the nave. The height of the apse cannot be measured precisely because of the narrowness of the chamber, but from a count of brick courses it is estimated at roughly 0.50 meters. No setback has been provided for the springing of a vault in the apse wall, and it is unlikely that the apse carried a vault of rubble or brick. The brickwork of the apse is perfectly integral with the brickwork of the end pier and the spandrel above the archivolts. The brickwork of the south nave wall is interrupted 0.80 m. from the apse front by the vertical jamb of an original window opening, just visible at the point where the thirteenth-century sanctuary side wall impinges on the earlier masonry (fig. 147, far left).



FIG. 147. S. Maria Maddalena: detail of wall with an original window.

Plaster re-vestment corresponds to precise level of the window sill, but it appears to lie about 1.00 m. above the pavement of the present church of 1670 m. above the original floor level. Externally, the apse wall is partly hidden by a thick reinforcement of medieval brickwork. The brickwork is identical with the masonry used in blocking the last arch of the left arcade and it envelops the entire southwest sector of the Early Christian apse and apse-chamber vault on escarpment of polygonal plan. As with the same style of brickwork common west to the direction of the original nave arcade and passages, to the north, a setback for a floor inside the triangular space between arch and apse, and to the south, support for the barrel vault of a long narrow corridor running east toward the present printing chamber. The vaultward behind the church affords a view of both the polygonal wall of the medieval addition and what little remains of the original apse. The center sector of the latter area was entirely rebuilt in 1926, including the jambs and arch of a window, but we do not know if these repeat original features. The presence of an ancient window opening in the diagonal southwest sector of the apse wall, visible also from outside, leaves little doubt that the apse was formerly lit by windows, but their number — whether two or three — remains undetermined.

In 1926, while repairs were being executed in a passage beside the south colonnade that runs east from the printing room and follows the exterior of the apse wall, a fragment of *opus listatum* wall face was revealed close to the place where the westernmost shaft of the south colonnade should stand, although no shaft has been discovered here.<sup>2</sup> The *listatum* section faces east — that is

toward the main body of the sanctuary — and it then runs for about two paces (two feet, or 0.60 m.) above the floor level. The middle portion of wall already built to three paces to the south, after which the passage breaks off. The distance — 0.80 m. — with a half-curved margin points and leads and is covered by an existing wall face on the left. Christian period. Hence it appears that a high cross vault divided the last bay of the north side from the rest of the aisle. It presumably defined a small side room, such as that noted by S. Lottstein in 1876.<sup>3</sup> Although this does not necessarily mean that the room was in fact built, it does indicate that the materials chosen for construction were in the same structure. Brick being generally used where strength of masonry and freedom being considered adequate in the upper parts of buildings and in monumental partition walls such as the wall in question. The upper wall of S. Lorenzo in Lucina are among the many examples of this.<sup>4</sup>

A photograph, taken in 1926 and identified as a fragment of the right side (fig. 142) shows a stretch of brickwork with regular coursing and thus possibly with the same features as found in the apse and the nave arcades. The location of the find can no longer be determined, but it may have been in the courtyard inside the church.<sup>5</sup>

## F. RECONSTRUCTION

### 1. The early Christian church

No trace of Roman structure has been found on the site of the present church and its predecessors. The elements preserved in the walls of the present building make it possible to reconstruct both the original early Christian church and its subsequent remodeling. The Early Christian church of S. Maria Maddalena was a basilica of the type standard in Rome during the later fourth and fifth centuries. Its nave, 40 R. ft. wide, was flanked by rows of uniform granite columns with marble composite capitals and simple papyrus which supported brick arcades. Twelve columns and thirteen arches supported the nave walls on either side, each arch opening 10.5 R. ft. between column centers. Outside the arcades extended the slender, one on either side. No doubt the arcade supported clerestory walls with windows. The height of the nave cannot be established definitely since only one of the end piers has been found, and the arcade's eastern point of termination is unknown. But in all likelihood the location of that pier is fairly close to that of the original one, given both the position of the Romanesque composite shaft of the original nave and presumably adjoining its facade, and the frequency of Early Christian basilicas with between bay widths in Rome. Hence the nave was at least 120 R. ft. long and possibly slightly longer. Its height, ca. 60 R. ft., can be postulated from two elements: the present height of the apse above ground level, 50.5 meters roughly (6 R. ft.), and the difference in level between the present and the original pavement, 3.15 m. (12 R. ft.). But the nave may well have been a few feet higher than the apse, possibly it was 55 or even 60 R. ft. high.

The apse, at the west end of the nave, was only 1 R. ft. narrower than the nave. Its wall, only 2 R. ft. thick, but almost 50 R. ft. high, was pierced by two or three windows. No apse of these proportions can hardly have supported a vault. Indeed, no setback in the springing of a

<sup>1</sup> See above, Vol. II, fig. 134, 135.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 173 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See, for 1876, Supplement to No. 1.



FIG. 15. S. SYXTI. A. 1876. (See text.)  
 To indicate varying levels.

from the church facade. Since the window and door frames in this wing appear to be of thirteenth century design, it was presumably built or remodeled under Sixtus IV. But it is impossible to tell if the Early Christian church had such an atrium or forecourt.<sup>1</sup> In any event, since the medieval level of the church was high above the original one, the atrium must have been rebuilt in the Middle Ages.

## 2. The Medieval rebuilding

The basilica was thoroughly remodeled in the High Middle Ages; the type of brickwork employed dates almost to this date. The arches were abandoned; the arcades of the nave were blocked and at least some of the columns were removed, including two which were reared in the chapter house. Thus the church was transformed into a structure without aisles, terminated by the original apse. The apse was reinforced, at least in its southwest corner, while south of it a structure of unknown function and ill-defined plan was added. It contained a short barrel-vaulted corridor leading through a wide arch into a rectangular room several stories high and located between the northern and the old apse. The corridor terminated at a point roughly corresponding to the *basilica* cross wall which, since Early Christian times had cut off the last bay from the rest of the south aisle. The north aisle disappeared almost entirely in the medieval remodeling, only its continuation having immediately preceding the springing of the apse survived as a sacristy. The rest of the aisle, reaching from the sacristy to the facade, was occupied by the south wing of the medieval choir that preceded the present one. Indeed, while the present choir apparently dates from the late sixteenth or the seventeenth century, it preserves the outline of a medieval cloister as well as some of its adjacent features: the chapter house off the east wing; the facade of this chapter house, 10.75 m. below the floor of the present choir; and in a short stretch of pavement in front, the level of the medieval cloister, 0.55 m. below the present one. This level presumably corresponded to that of the medieval church, a full 2.90 m. higher than the Early Christian level. Since the new medieval level placed the apex of the original an. apse only 1.15 m. above the floor

<sup>1</sup> Reardon, loc. cit. 2. *Archaeologia*. The Dating of the S. Maria Rotunda. *Medieval Archaeology*, 1957, p. 100.  
<sup>2</sup> *Journal of the American Institute of Architects*, 1927, p. 100.  
<sup>3</sup> See *Journal of the American Institute of Architects*, 1927, p. 100.

the nave could hardly have contained an *ambulatorium* with the *psalterium* room and *tribuna* (to mention three apparatus) block, as well as two high vaulted *arcades* (the apse, having only small windows in the blocky walls). Remains of brickwork *arcades* and *triforium* were presumably inserted into the area of the aisle, participating in the medieval remodeling plan. The north end of the aisle was preserved as a *triforium* on an extremely high level (seventeenth century height) and the double *arcades* to the city under the eighteenth century plan. At the same time the *triforium* was built, starting on the new medieval level (and occupying the middle part of the nave).

All these features are interlinked and show contemporaneity. The crossing of the ground between church and choir is on the same level. The building of the choir concentrated attention on the north side. Remains of *triforium* and *arcades* were brought into existence in the block level forced upon the medieval building. The *triforium* of the north side and *arcades* on the south side. As a further contemporaneous medieval structure could be figured into this area, the *triforium* of the apse. Finally the loss of brick *arcades* pointed the way to the complete loss of the *triforium* and *arcades* in the medieval remodeling.

An approximate date for the medieval remodeling is given by the results of a nineteenth century brickwork employed in blocking the fall arch at the blind arcade and in the construction, before the arch south of the apse. The date is further suggested by the brick Gothic towers of the chapter house and particularly by the windows and the door frame in its facade. As is still seen, the documentary evidence confirms this date.<sup>2</sup>

## 3. Later remodelings

The only structural change of post-medieval date in the history of the building was the retention into the original apse area of a narrow channel terminated by a polygonal apse. Its position, as well as the polygonal plan of the apse suggest a period of construction in the thirteenth century.

All later changes from the fresco decorations of the thirteenth and the fourteenth century are best described by *Beato*.<sup>3</sup> In his time, the single nave was lit by two windows in the left flank and by single windows in the right flank, in the facade and in the apse. The nave, then, must have been rather dark. The light, upon approach of *congregatio*, was produced by the eighteenth century remodeling which created the *triforium*, the *arcades* and the *triforium* windows in the flanks and the facade of the nave.

## G. CHRONOLOGY

### 1. The early Christian church

The plan and elevation of the basilica, as they can be reconstructed from the surviving brick-Christian elements, have little doubt up to the approximate time of 300 A.D. The plan, which by thirteen arcades on either side of the nave, and two *triforium* of the side had a nave parallel to

<sup>2</sup> See the work of Beato, loc. cit. and *Beato*, loc. cit. 2. *Archaeologia*, 1927, p. 100.

<sup>3</sup> *Beato*, loc. cit. 2. *Archaeologia*, 1927, p. 100.

tradition with S. Vitale dated (to c. 171)<sup>27</sup>, S. Sabina c. 225 to after 412<sup>28</sup> and S. Lorenzo in Lucina c. 225 to 440.<sup>29</sup> The period of construction of S. Sisto can thus be reasonably narrowed down to the first forty years of the fifth century. Since the resemblance to S. Lorenzo in Lucina is particularly striking, including even the lack of an apse vault (of one a vault of high material), the possibility of SIXTUS III (c. 432-440) would seem to offer the most appropriate date. On the other hand, the methods and joining of the brickwork suggest at first a somewhat different context. Like that of Church 226 S. Pietro in Vincoli, about 390 AD.<sup>30</sup> Thus, the location of the nodular samples may account for the difference; at S. Sisto and S. Pietro in Vincoli they were taken far down in the structure where the brickwork was thus tightly packed, while it was loosely spaced 1.2 m up in the clerestory walls of S. Lorenzo in Lucina. But a date about 400, like that of Church 21 at S. Pietro in Vincoli is equally possible and the character of the capitals would appear to support such an early date.<sup>31</sup>

It is hard to explain the level of the Early Christian basilica, c. 15 m. below the level of the second century remains found at nearby S. Cesario diagonally across the street. We can only suggest that the valley in which the churches lie may have a natural slope descending a meter or so from S. Cesario and SS. Nereo ad Achilleo to the site of S. Sisto. By the eighth and ninth centuries when S. Cesareo and SS. Nereo ad Achilleo were rebuilt, 2.65 and 3.35 m. respectively above the original level of S. Sisto, the ground on both sides of the road had risen still further.<sup>32</sup>

It has been suggested that S. Sisto Vecchio should be identified with the *Basilica Celsentiana* which Pope Anastasius I founded on land at the turn of the fourth century in the second regnum on the Via Marmorata.<sup>33</sup> The suggestion is based on the following evidence: the "*titulus Celsentianus*" appears among the signatures of the synod of 396, but disappears from among those of the synod of 505, on the other hand a "*titulus sancti Sisti*" (previously unknown, makes its appearance unexpectedly during the pontificate of Gregory the Great, 590-604), and among the signatures at the synod of 515.<sup>34</sup> The identification of the two tituli is plausible and certainly the technical features of the Early Christian basilica of S. Sisto Vecchio would not militate against a date about 400. On the other hand, the documentary evidence in support of this date, while plausible, is not conclusive. Thus, the list of 499 tituli at least four names of tituli that are no longer mentioned in the list of 595, while the latter includes four tituli which do not appear in 499. But despite the pioneer work of J. P. Kirsch, the correspondences between the disappearing and newly appearing tituli have never been worked out to perfection; not is it certain that the new tituli occupied the same sites as the older ones which disappeared after 499. In the case of the *titulus (or basilica) Celsentiana* and S. Sisto Vecchio respectively, the difficulty is compounded by the topographical indications of the *Libro Pontificale*, which place the *basilica Celsentiana* "in regione II Via Marmorata".<sup>35</sup> This passage cannot refer to the ecclesiastical second region, around S. Giorgio in Velabro, but must mean the second region of Augustus. This comprised the Coelian Hill above, but it did not include the site of S. Sisto Vecchio which belongs to the first region, Porta Capena. On the other hand, the Via Marmorata may well be linked to the

<sup>27</sup> See *Basilica*, pp. 112 ff. some dates p. 114 ff.

<sup>28</sup> See also, *ibid.* III, p. 227 ff.

<sup>29</sup> See also, *ibid.* III, p. 227 ff.

<sup>30</sup> *Basilica*, *ibid.* pp. 175 ff. See also, *ibid.* III, p. 227, note 1.

<sup>31</sup> *Journal of American Archaeology*, 82, 1952, no. 4.

<sup>32</sup> See also the *op. cit.* (1950) *Basilica*, p. 114.

<sup>33</sup> *Libro Pontificale*, pp. 112 ff.

<sup>34</sup> See also, *ibid.* pp. 112 ff.

<sup>35</sup> *Libro Pontificale*, pp. 112 ff.

"*basilica Memorata*", which appears throughout the inscription as being in the first region. This first region lies almost invariably just over the second region and therefore after "basilica Memorata" as being in region II.<sup>36</sup> Moreover, the location of S. Sisto Vecchio in the first region, the "titulus Celsentianus" makes it equally possible that the temple of the *Libro Pontificale* mentioned it as the second instead of the first region.

The conclusion to be drawn from such of these alternatives is clear. If the *basilica Celsentiana*, *Celsentiana* or *Anastasianus* really were founded in the first region then in the second region, it might well be identical with the early, fifth century church, the remains of which are here being discussed. This in turn opens two further possibilities: either the remains of an earlier church, planning which we are accustomed to identifying with the possibility of SIXTUS III, dated (by its appearance as early as about 400) or the reference in the *Libro Pontificale* which was the temple term, "basilica Memorata" that the *basilica Celsentiana* was founded by Anastasius I, but was built later, possibly only under SIXTUS III. On the other hand if the remains (and the *basilica Celsentiana* belongs to the second region, one would have to assume a transfer of the temple to a locality possibly built by SIXTUS III, though not mentioned in his biography. The basilica, the present church at S. Sisto Vecchio, would have retained the old title of *Celsentiana* and at least 499, then its existence is for the name of the builder SIXTUS III, in the course of the fifth century, and around 400, by the name of SIXTUS III, pope and martyr.<sup>37</sup>

Each of these alternatives is fraught with difficulties. The handling of the brickwork and the style of the capitals suggest a date about 400. This suggestion that S. Sisto, located in the *basilica Celsentiana*, founded by Anastasius I, between 499 and 505, but subsequently located in the second region by the *Libro Pontificale*. In place this, it would be the first in the group of basilicas which become standard in Rome from S. Vitale to the thirteenth built under Sixtus III. Indeed, given the shortness of Anastasius' pontificate one might not rule out the hypothesis that Sixtus III re-erected a structure left unfinished by Anastasius. This could explain the correspondence of the earlier rounded apse to that of S. Lorenzo (by height, and the position of a side chamber at the end of the south aisle). It would also explain the replacement by 499 of the original title of the church *Basilica Celsentiana* by the new name, *Sistina*, since SIXTUS III who had been linked to it only under the Carolingian popes, but SIXTUS III, under Sixtus' construction was completed.

## 2 Later rebuildings

The rebuildings of the church are complexed. The structural rebuilding which occurred the first time gave the church in the north, the square tower and the composite middle the early middle coincide with the documented activity of INNOCENT III and HONORIUS III between 1179 and 1187. The remodeling under SIXTUS IV, (terminating approximately in 1255) presumably comprised the building of the new chancel and the polygonal apse. Certainly the portal of Cardinal Terzio, was transplanted to the south wing, but then set on either on the facade of the church of another of the

<sup>36</sup> *Libro Pontificale*, pp. 112 ff. See also, *ibid.* III, p. 227, note 1. The Via Marmorata (between the second region and over the second region) to the Via Marmorata (the first region) is mentioned in the *Libro Pontificale*, pp. 112 ff. See also, *ibid.* III, p. 227, note 1.

<sup>37</sup> See also, *ibid.* III, p. 227, note 1.

<sup>38</sup> See also, *ibid.* III, p. 227, note 1.

<sup>39</sup> See also, *ibid.* III, p. 227, note 1.

ations and the church façade was possibly the arched façade (certainly 92-101) (fig. 149). The restoration undertaken by Cardinal Buoncompagni, 1572-80, changed little in the structure of the nave but included the building of the present cloister and of the heavy main portal, as well as the destruction of the vaults of the apse and porch with frescoes and gilded stucco, and the laying out of a courtyard in front of the church. Finally in the eighteenth century, Raguzzini designed the present altars in the nave and the graceful window frames in the façade and the choir walls.

## H. HISTORICAL POSITION

The church of S. Sisto Vecchio, as originally built, represents in perfection the type of Early Christian basilica that became standard in the Rome in course of the fifth century: long in comparison to its width and thus different from the broader proportions of S. Clemente, resting on narrow arcades, and terminated by a simple semicircular apse with two or three windows. It can be shown, as it is, as is very likely, to be indeed the earliest example of the type known, preceding S. Vitale, S. Sabina, and S. Lorenzo in Lucina. On the other hand, if completed in the pontificate of Sixtus III, it would coincide with that pope's S. Lorenzo in Lucina, not only in plan and proportions, but then generally accepted, but even in the timber covering of the apse and the provision of a side chamber at the end of the aisle.

## SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE

Long after finishing the manuscript of this written, we learned in the winter 1968-1969 of the investigations of the church and the excavations of the atrium and the southern aisle wall undertaken by Professor H. Geertman of Groningen University. Professor Geertman's preliminary report has just been published in *Recht. Pont. Leval. 35* (1968-1969), pp. 219-228; the final report is to follow in 1970. But in a letter, written May 13, 1969, Professor Geertman was good enough to inform me (R.K.) briefly of the results of his investigations and to permit me to publish in the volume as a supplementary note his summary. Moreover, on September 14, 1969, Professor Geertman and his wife kindly accompanied me on a visit to the church and furnished additional explanations. Professor Geertman's letter follows in translation:

The work was undertaken from the fall of 1967 to the spring of 1968. At a depth of 3.47 m. below the present pavement of cloister and church we found the remains of a basilica, composed of a nave and two aisles, oriented north-northwest. It had an apse and a triple-arched entrance (a *trifora*) preceded by a quadripartite. The apse was unvaulted, the quadripartite was square and as wide as the church. The interior was lit by three (or two?) (R.K.) windows in the apse, three in the façade and thirteen each to the left and right of the clerestory walls of the nave.

The total length of the structure (Professor Geertman apparently refers to the joint length of atrium and basilica (R.K.)) was 71.30 m., the width 25.50 m., the height circa 13.15 m. A heightening of the walls (ca. 3.00 m.) dates back to the beginning of the thirteenth century.

The pavement of the basilica was of *opus sectile*, that of the quadripartite of a crude irregular mosaic, in part white, in part polychrome. The soffits of the entrance arches, of the façade windows and of the nave arcades were plastered and painted in many-colored stripes.

A number of architectural and decorative elements and a careful examination of the written sources would lead one to identify the basilica found below S. Sisto Vecchio with the *basilica Constantiniana*, consecrated by Anastasius I (526-532).

During my visit in September 1969, Professor Geertman moreover pointed out the traces of the apse window to the right, the outlines of the windows now uncovered in the façade and in the right hand clerestory, of the triple arch of the façade, of the first arch of the right hand nave arcade and of the end piers projecting from both the right and left hand nave arcades. He also pointed out the blocking of the triple entrance arch, possibly in the early Middle Ages (or as early as the fifth century) as at S. Petrus in Vinetis (R.K.), and the lack of bonding between the left hand nave wall and the façade, perhaps as a result of "clockwise construction", as at S. Lorenzo fuori le mura<sup>1</sup>.

S. STEFANO DEGLI ALESSINI  
(S. STEFANO MAGGIORE)

(R. Krautwiler, S. Olschki)

## A. BIBLIOGRAPHY

- VIOLA, *Le arti e l'architettura romanobarbarica. Dizionario S. Pietro, Roma* [1933] 1937, GLS. Juno, VII, Antwerp 1937, p. 30.
- ARZUFFI, *De Basilica, summae antiquitatis et artis structura*, ed. G. C. S. (Studi e testi, 26), Rome, 1934, p. 27, fig. 85 f.
- DUPERRAY, *Travaux*, 1889, p. 775, figs. 3, 249.
- FERRARI, *Monasterii Vaticani*, 1929, fig. 112 ff.
- CASTELLANI, *Diocesi della Basilica Vaticana. III*, Rome, 1926, p. 513 ff.
- NOBIS, *Arch. d'Art*, I, 1926, p. 726.
- BURLEIGH, *Antiquities*, VI, p. 261 ff.
- BURLEIGH, "Antiquities Notes on the topographic of Rome at Mycen Age", *Mon. L'oe. Franç.* 12 (1902), p. 3 ff., figs. 16.
- HOOPER, *Ann.*, 267, p. 47 ff.
- MILANO, *La Basilica S. Stefano Maggiore e le reliquie romane-stupide*, Rome, 1929.
- FRANZONI, "Lavori di restauro nella Chiesa di Santo Stefano nella Città del Vaticano", *Atti . . . II Convegno Internazionale di Archeologia Cristiana, 1927* (Studi di Archeologia Cristiana, 6), Rome, 1928, p. 107 ff.
- FRANZONI, "La Chiesa Vaticana di San Stefano Maggiore . . .", *Mon. Piot.*, Lond., 4, 1 (1934), p. 1 ff. Reprinted cited as GIOVANNINI [1934].
- FRANZONI-CORREI, *Chiese*, 1932, pp. 128, 131 ff.
- FERRARI, *Monasterii*, 1929, p. 301 ff.
- LEHR, "Architektonik . . .", p. 210 f.

## B. SUBJECT DESCRIPTIONS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

## I. SUBJECT DESCRIPTION

- CHIESA, *Il voto di Maria del 1798 e tutto il 1729*, Archivio Capitolare di S. Pietro, Miscellanea, Ann. 50 (LX) 1925 in excerpt by Mauro de Lottosio, *op. cit.*, p. 273 ff. 2.

## II. SUBJECT ILLUSTRATIONS

- (1) BURLEIGH, *Nato di grandibasi wooden*, Map of Rome (ed. LEHR, *Roma al tempo di Giulio II*, Rome, 1912).
- (2) LEHR, *Architect.*, Groundplan 288, and wash Vatican Library, Archivio Capit. di San Pietro (op. cit.), 26, fig. Capitolo p. XXII and pl. 1 engraved, 1901, *ibid.*, pl. 1) 2.
- (3) DUPERRAY, *View from west* (unmarked), engraving; Map of Rome, FERRAZ, *Plante di Roma*, 96, 340.

<sup>1</sup> The above-mentioned ground plan, though not engraved in reverse (the rest of the book is engraved), is also engraved in reverse (see page 31) of the same manuscript before the others.

<sup>2</sup> Manuscript of the Vatican Library, 481, 20, fol. 100. The manuscript, given as 481, 20, fol. 100, is the copy of the original, which was given as S. Stefano from 1798 to 1813, as M. Rossi, *Le chiese e i conventi di Roma*, ed. G. C. S. (Studi e testi, 26), Rome, 1934, p. 111. The manuscript, given as 481, 20, fol. 100, is the copy of the original, which was given as S. Stefano from 1798 to 1813, as M. Rossi, *Le chiese e i conventi di Roma*, ed. G. C. S. (Studi e testi, 26), Rome, 1934, p. 111. The manuscript, given as 481, 20, fol. 100, is the copy of the original, which was given as S. Stefano from 1798 to 1813, as M. Rossi, *Le chiese e i conventi di Roma*, ed. G. C. S. (Studi e testi, 26), Rome, 1934, p. 111.

<sup>3</sup> Reprinted in *Archiv. d'Art*, I, 1926, p. 726.

<sup>4</sup> Reprinted in *Archiv. d'Art*, I, 1926, p. 726.

<sup>5</sup> Reprinted in *Archiv. d'Art*, I, 1926, p. 726.

<sup>6</sup> Reprinted in *Archiv. d'Art*, I, 1926, p. 726.

<sup>7</sup> Reprinted in *Archiv. d'Art*, I, 1926, p. 726.

<sup>8</sup> Reprinted in *Archiv. d'Art*, I, 1926, p. 726.

<sup>9</sup> Reprinted in *Archiv. d'Art*, I, 1926, p. 726.

<sup>10</sup> Reprinted in *Archiv. d'Art*, I, 1926, p. 726.

<sup>11</sup> Reprinted in *Archiv. d'Art*, I, 1926, p. 726.

<sup>12</sup> Reprinted in *Archiv. d'Art*, I, 1926, p. 726.

<sup>13</sup> Reprinted in *Archiv. d'Art*, I, 1926, p. 726.

<sup>14</sup> Reprinted in *Archiv. d'Art*, I, 1926, p. 726.

<sup>15</sup> Reprinted in *Archiv. d'Art*, I, 1926, p. 726.

<sup>16</sup> Reprinted in *Archiv. d'Art*, I, 1926, p. 726.

<sup>17</sup> Reprinted in *Archiv. d'Art*, I, 1926, p. 726.

<sup>18</sup> Reprinted in *Archiv. d'Art*, I, 1926, p. 726.

<sup>19</sup> Reprinted in *Archiv. d'Art*, I, 1926, p. 726.

<sup>20</sup> Reprinted in *Archiv. d'Art*, I, 1926, p. 726.

<sup>21</sup> Reprinted in *Archiv. d'Art*, I, 1926, p. 726.

- 1577 DUPERRAY, *View of church and adjacent buildings from southwest*, engraving; Map of Rome (ed. LEHR, *Roma prima di Sixt. P. Pope*, 1912).
- 1580 VAN CESTER, *View from southwest showing apse, small transept, and six nave and choir, engraving*, present location unknown (FRANZONI, *Plante di Roma*, pl. 260).
- 1586 TREMPER, *View from west* (marked "Santo Maria") woodcut (Ullrich, *Rome: Podagrafo*, ed. S. W. C. Sothomel, 1917, edition of 1926, ed. ENRI, *Roma al tempo di Pape Sixt. P. Vatican City*, 1921).
- 1623 MAIRA, *View from west*, woodcut, MARRAS-FRASCINI, *Map of Rome*, ed. ENRI, *Roma al tempo di Leone XII*, Rome, 1912, fig. 210.
- 1739-1749 NOVI, Ground plan (about 1739 without side?) drawing, Plan of St. Pietro and surroundings, FERRAZ, *Plante di Roma*, pl. 383; see also Nolle's map of Rome engraving, *ibid.*, pl. 413 and *Roma al tempo di Benedetto XVI* (ed. ENRI, Vatican City, 1912).
- 1832-1833 ROUXETON DE FEUGRY, Ground plan, elevation, reconstruction of plan, and details all based on survey undertaken by BOUTILLIER, 1832-1833, lithographic, *La Vierge de la Merne*, V, Paris, 1837, p. 7 f., pls. 439, 441, 442.
- 1931-1933 FERRAZ AND OTHERS, Views and details, photographs taken from island during Government's campaign of restoration, Archæus Photographica, Musei Vaticani, 1931 and GIOVANNINI, 1933.

## C. DATES

- 593-594 Gregory I tells of Galla Patricia, a noble widow of his acquaintance, who ("Galla Patricia") is a prior to 536 withdrew to a monastery near St. Peter's "sine opera. Ita Patricia quædam archiepiscopi monasterio tradidit" which still flourishes at the time of his writing (*Gregorius cum Galata, Dialoq.*, IX, 14 [Missir, P.L., 77, 340 f., 105 f.]; *Gregory: Memoirs*, London, *per la storia d'Israele*, 57] ed. MURRAY, Rome, 1924, p. 226 ff.). The identity of this mentioned monastery with the later monastery of S. Stefano Maggiore, which suggested by eighth ninth and eleventh century sources remains to be proven; see below, figs. 792-795, 796, 810, 1013-1073. FERRARI, *Monasterii*, p. 312 f.).
- 732 A monastery of St. Stephen is listed with two others, one dedicated to St. John and Paul, the other to St. Martin, all "sunt basilicæ apostolicæ" (inscription commemorating the apud field under Gregory III FERRARI, *Monasterii*, p. 319).
- 757 A papal bull refers to a house adjoining the monastery of St. Martin, but belonging to the monastery "S. Stephani cum Galla Patricia" (MARRAS, *Sacrum Consistorium in a. amplissima Collezione*, XII, Florence, 1766, reprint Graz, 1909), ed. 552, as quoted by FERRARI, *Monasterii*, p. 311).
- 772-785 Hadrian I reforms the monastic congregation "in monasterio sancti Stephani cum Galla Patricia" *ipse videtur ad basilicam Petri apostolicam* since the monastery had been badly neglected "in magna derelicta et neglecta incurta pœnis erant", and did not fulfil its religious obligations; a new abbot "persona idonea" was appointed and the congregation ordered to perform, jointly with three other monasteries, the *laudes* at St. Peter's (L.P., I, p. 591; FERRARI, *Monasterii*, p. 320).
- 795-816 Leo III, probably in 809, rebuilds from its foundations the monastery "monasterium sancti Stephani que appellatur cum Galla Patricia" which had been damaged and in part collapsed from old age, together with its oratory "sicut ante oratorium veterem fundationem" (L.P., II, 25). In the donation list of this the monastery, listed as above, receives a small holding (village) "canoniam ex certa pres. ih. H. et omnia" (L.P., II, p. 22). However, as early as ca. 1021 Leo had provided a titile "in oratorio sancti Stephani a sancto Petro que appellatur maximum" (L.P., II, 131; Ferrari, who quotes the latter two references: *Monasterii*, p. 320), omits the

<sup>1</sup> Reprinted with minor variations on the manuscript of the Vatican Library, 481, 20, fol. 100. The manuscript, given as 481, 20, fol. 100, is the copy of the original, which was given as S. Stefano from 1798 to 1813, as M. Rossi, *Le chiese e i conventi di Roma*, ed. G. C. S. (Studi e testi, 26), Rome, 1934, p. 111.

<sup>2</sup> Reprinted with minor variations on the manuscript of the Vatican Library, 481, 20, fol. 100.

<sup>3</sup> Reprinted with minor variations on the manuscript of the Vatican Library, 481, 20, fol. 100.

<sup>4</sup> Reprinted with minor variations on the manuscript of the Vatican Library, 481, 20, fol. 100.

<sup>5</sup> Reprinted with minor variations on the manuscript of the Vatican Library, 481, 20, fol. 100.

<sup>6</sup> Reprinted with minor variations on the manuscript of the Vatican Library, 481, 20, fol. 100.

<sup>7</sup> Reprinted with minor variations on the manuscript of the Vatican Library, 481, 20, fol. 100.

<sup>8</sup> Reprinted with minor variations on the manuscript of the Vatican Library, 481, 20, fol. 100.

<sup>9</sup> Reprinted with minor variations on the manuscript of the Vatican Library, 481, 20, fol. 100.

<sup>10</sup> Reprinted with minor variations on the manuscript of the Vatican Library, 481, 20, fol. 100.

<sup>11</sup> Reprinted with minor variations on the manuscript of the Vatican Library, 481, 20, fol. 100.

<sup>12</sup> Reprinted with minor variations on the manuscript of the Vatican Library, 481, 20, fol. 100.

<sup>13</sup> Reprinted with minor variations on the manuscript of the Vatican Library, 481, 20, fol. 100.

<sup>14</sup> Reprinted with minor variations on the manuscript of the Vatican Library, 481, 20, fol. 100.

<sup>15</sup> Reprinted with minor variations on the manuscript of the Vatican Library, 481, 20, fol. 100.

<sup>16</sup> Reprinted with minor variations on the manuscript of the Vatican Library, 481, 20, fol. 100.

<sup>17</sup> Reprinted with minor variations on the manuscript of the Vatican Library, 481, 20, fol. 100.

<sup>18</sup> Reprinted with minor variations on the manuscript of the Vatican Library, 481, 20, fol. 100.

<sup>19</sup> Reprinted with minor variations on the manuscript of the Vatican Library, 481, 20, fol. 100.

<sup>20</sup> Reprinted with minor variations on the manuscript of the Vatican Library, 481, 20, fol. 100.





## D. GENERAL DESCRIPTION

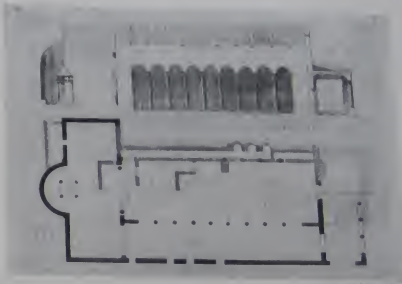
8. *Sarano degli Abessi* stands roughly 20 m. southwest of the main apse of St. Peter's and hence roughly 96 m. from the apse of the Constantinian basilica. Its axis is at an angle of about 20° to that of Old St. Peter's and thus runs from east-northeast to south-southwest. Today the church presents itself as restored by Giovannoni between 1931 and 1933; it is isolated, rather than framed by the buildings which had adjoined it until then; and it is composed of disparate elements—a Baroque façade and a nave and apse restored to their medieval aspect but deprived of aisles. The façade, surmounted by a broken triangular gable, is flanked by projecting bundles of pilasters and pierced by a single doorway above which is a low rectangular window. Its design and details tally with the date of the remodelings undertaken by Clement XI, 1703-1706 and 1716; the earliest remodeling is documented by an inscription tablet above the door, the latest by a contemporary chronicle.<sup>1</sup> However, the frame of the floor is much older, as indicated by its rustic and unadorned character. Five steps descend from the doorway to the interior. Since 1932, the interior has consisted of a nave without aisles, crossed near the middle by a diaphragm arch, a continuous transept opening into the nave through a triumphal arch carried by 4 piers and columns, preceding the transept, one bay of the aisles on either side, which communicate with the transept through trabeated openings subdivided by pilasters; and finally, a semicircular apse. Within the side walls of the nave parts of the original colonnades have been discovered, backed by outer walls dating from 1931 to 1933. Five columns to the right and two to the left are visible, and those to the right still carry an architrave; but the windows in the clerestory of the nave, as indeed the better part of these upper walls, were freely removed by Giovannoni. Needless to say, the open timber roofs of nave and transept likewise date from 1931 to 1933.

Within the transept, only a short distance from the triumphal arch, Giovannoni set up a transverse closed screen. To this modern screen he applied fragments of interlaced work *canelli*, found in the church in part by Busi about 1880, in part during the restoration campaign of 1931 to 1933. Inside the screen, seven steps ascend to an upper level which fills the apse and, in the center area of the transept, carries the altar and the four columns of its canopy. The block of the altar, as well as two capitals of the canopy are old, but the composite is Giovannoni's. Below the altar, on the lower transept level, Giovannoni restored a *fenestella confessoria*. This leads into a relic chamber which formed part of the original crypt. The upper parts of the crypt are gone, but the lower parts of its walls, to a height of roughly 60 cm., were found by Giovannoni, preserved below the raised level of the apse and of the center area of the transept, and made accessible by short flights of steps descending north and south from the lower transept level.

Likewise, below the nave and the area of the former aisles, remains of structures different from that of the church were found and enclosed in a basement by Giovannoni.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 179, figs. 13 and 17a.

Fig. 154. S. Serafino degli Abbessi. Plan and elevation (left), Basile, 1933.



## E. ANALYSIS

The structure of S. Serafino is hard to investigate in its present state. The restoration campaign of 1931 to 1933 did a thorough job: the floor was dropped 1.20 m. from the eighteenth century level to the original one and made accessible by five steps inside the entrance door; large parts of the walls were rebuilt as was the upper level of the chancel which occupies the center of the transept and the apse; windows in the apse and the nave were opened, at times it seems without sufficient evidence; and the entire building was covered, inside and outside, with a thick plaster coat.<sup>1</sup> As a result it is impossible to distinguish original and new parts, or, for that matter, changes in the original structure effected during the Middle Ages or from the fifteenth through the eighteenth centuries. Moreover, the basements opened below the church in 1931 to 1933 and the structures they enclose are difficult of access because of constant flooding. Under these circumstances it becomes



Fig. 155. S. Serafino degli Abbessi. Section and detail (right), Busi, 1880.

<sup>1</sup> GIOVANNONI, 1934, p. 4 and 26-28.

necessary to base the reconstruction of the church and the antecedent structures to a large degree on the photographic drawings and descriptions prepared under Giovannoni's direction in connection with his campaign, and on a few supplementing notes and photographs taken by me (R.N.) at that time.

Prior to Giovannoni's restoration, the church was flanked on either side by buildings for the use of the clergy attached to S. Stefano. These were erected or redesigned in the early eighteenth century<sup>1</sup>. Behind Valeri's façade, the church itself consisted of a short nave extending only to the diaphragm arch of the original nave; a shallow channel behind that arch; and a narrow and shallow rectangular apse (figs. 150 a, b). The level of the nave had been raised 1.20 m above the original site<sup>2</sup>. A sacristy behind the apse filled the rest of the original nave, followed by a courtyard which projected beyond the old triumphal arch in the area of the transept<sup>3</sup>. The aisles are reported to have been almost entirely rebuilt and separated from the nave to have served as passage and storage rooms<sup>4</sup>. But this is only true of the south aisle. To the north, according to Basti's plan and old photographs, the area of the aisle was occupied near the façade by the clergy house, and farther west by a garden terrace several metres above the level of the church, except for a narrow vaulted corridor running along the flank of the short nave and leading into the courtyard located behind the sacristy (fig. 150)<sup>5</sup>. Inside this corridor Basti in 1892-1893 saw the four easternmost columns and the eastern tongue pier of the north arcade of the nave<sup>6</sup>. The wall of the original north aisle had apparently been buried underneath the garden terrace, while that of the left aisle to the south was still visible<sup>7</sup>. On the other hand, the walls of transept and apse, albeit buried 4.65 m deep in the ground, remained standing to nearly their full original height and formed a courtyard under the open sky<sup>8</sup>. All this is confirmed by Campagna, the recror at the time of the rebuilding in 1793-1796<sup>9</sup>. He also recorded what he saw of the older church: nave, transept, and apse; the position of the aisles, the north aisle filled in, excepting the corridor; the south aisle serving the various of St. Peter's; columns, both fluted and unfluted, walled up on either side of the nave and visible from the corridor; capitals, including four found east of the façade; finally, below the west area of the old nave some vaulted constructions and, fourteen palms below the pavement of the new sacristy, an ancient pavement, which was believed to be that of the original church<sup>10</sup>.

### 1. The exterior

Only the eighteenth century façade and the walls of transept and apse — the latter heavily restored and thickly plastered — antedate the campaign of 1931 to 1933. In particular, the walls of the nave, including the buttresses along either flank and the windows in the intervening bays, were designed and built by Giovannoni as boundary walls for the parts surviving from the original

<sup>1</sup> Giovannoni (1933) pp. 1. See also his *Restaurazione*, op. cit. p. 275, in which, in description, is quoted the Campagna's statement, obtained on the building in 1792, of a date for the ground raising.

<sup>2</sup> Giovannoni, *ibid.* p. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Basti, op. cit. (see note 1), p. 8. Restorazione di Edrisio Basti, *in* *Le Muse*, 1933.

<sup>4</sup> Giovannoni, *ibid.* p. 10.

<sup>5</sup> Restorazione di Edrisio Basti, *ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* p. 8.

<sup>7</sup> Restorazione di Edrisio Basti, *ibid.* p. 10, note "Muro di sostegno esterno".

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* p. 10 and at 429. Giovannoni, *ibid.* p. 10; and Basti, 1933, p. 1, and fig. 5, C.

<sup>9</sup> Campagna, *ibid.* p. 10.

<sup>10</sup> Basti, op. cit. p. 8. "Le due chiese si dividono in 223, 22. All'incirca l'edifico della chiesa vecchia si eleva sopra un'altra antica rovinata dalle palme e da altri alberi. Il pavimento in parte era quello della chiesa di S. Pietro, del piano del pavimento della chiesa di S. Pietro." See also *ibid.* p. 10.

church. Likewise, the remaining wall which marks the position of the original north aisle wall and the wall of the eastern sacristy are from 1892-1893 also (fig. 150). The parts of the walls are from the same campaign. However, the remaining wall to the north in the courtyard (presently occupied by the original side hall).

### 2. Transept and apse

Old photographs show the original walls of the transept and apse, as they were preserved prior to 1933-1935. The apse with a diameter of 6.30 m, covered by the full dome of a height of 10.1 m, from the original nave floor, had still risen to its full height of 18.60 m. On the upper level, above the apse opening, the west wall of the transept had been cut down into a rectangular niche to carry an eighteenth century tile roof covering the apse, and an adjoining transept, soculus above the apse opening, however, may have belonged to the original transept and had been restored as such (figs. 150b, 151a)<sup>1</sup>. Both the floor and walls of the transept had been raised up about to a height of 4.4-5.0 m above the nave floor; the wall to the north acted as the entrance of a small courtyard, the one to the south that of a small building. The length of the transept from north to south is still the original one, 10.50 m, along its side wall and facade, along its outside, the difference being caused by the slight obliqueness of the south and wall. The depth of the transept correspondingly increases from north to south from 6.30 m to 6.65 m<sup>2</sup>.

The walls of the apse and transept were heavily restored during Giovannoni's campaign. Nonetheless, still today they show two distinct types of masonry and the difference is confirmed by the photographs taken prior to 1933 and obtained in Giovannoni's publication<sup>3</sup>. In both lower parts the walls are built of round bricks and *opus mixtum* (some laid in irregular, sometimes modulating courses, the technique customary in eighth and ninth century Rome (fig. 151a). The modulating of five courses fluctuates from 30 to 38 cm. The openings, as observed in 1933, prior to the rebuilding, was greivish and richly interspersed with brick particles grouped in a reddish hue; and the horizontal beds vary in height from 1.50 to 1.70 m. The same type of masonry continues into the half piers which separate the north and south walls of the transept from the adjoining walls and from there into the remains of the aisle walls<sup>4</sup>. On the other hand, in the upper portions of the transept and the apse walls, and in a few stretches, obviously separate of their lower portions, the original brickwork given way to a different type: the courses are more regular; the modulus of five courses sinks as low as 16 to 28 cm; the irregularity average is 5 cm; and the side of the brick ranges from deep red to yellow, in short, it is the type of masonry customary in twelfth and thirteenth century buildings in Rome (fig. 151b). Also corresponding to high medieval custom, the arch over the apse opening is formed of bent a single row of impostals and the half dome of the type springing from the cylindrical wall without a central intervening. Outside, the apse wall terminates with a cornice carried by small brackets and composed of three superimposed projecting bricks (fig. 151c). It was restored by Giovannoni, based on original survey, but is a secondary, at the same of essential — we would say twelfth or thirteenth century — rather than of ninth century datum<sup>5</sup>. Re-

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 685 b.

<sup>2</sup> Restorazione di Edrisio Basti, *ibid.* p. 10.

<sup>3</sup> Restorazione di Edrisio Basti, *ibid.* pp. 10 and 11. It is, however, to be noted that the original brickwork was discovered in 1933.

<sup>4</sup> Basti, *Restorazione di Edrisio Basti*, *ibid.* p. 10. It is to be noted that the ground in the courtyard, containing the walls, is from the same campaign.

<sup>5</sup> Giovannoni, *ibid.* pp. 10, 201 (fig. 151) and p. 10, note 1.

<sup>6</sup> The half pier to the south is higher than the one to the north.

<sup>7</sup> Restorazione di Edrisio Basti, *ibid.* p. 10. It is to be noted that the ground in the courtyard, containing the walls, is from the same campaign.

<sup>8</sup> Restorazione di Edrisio Basti, *ibid.* p. 10. It is to be noted that the ground in the courtyard, containing the walls, is from the same campaign.



Fig. 154a. *S. Maria degli Alessandri* (interior, apse wall, and arch from north, 1926 to 1928).



Fig. 154b. *S. Maria degli Alessandri* (apse from street).

garding the three apse windows, as restored in 1921 to 1927, we remain in serious doubt as to whether or not they originally existed; the photographs taken prior to 1921 (fig. 151a) show no indications in the corresponding places.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, the windows in the long west wall of the transept did exist prior to 1921-1927<sup>2</sup> and were restored in their original form. Tall and only 20 cm. wide, they are surmounted by arches composed of short bricks and reminiscent of twelfth and thirteenth century rather than earlier building practice in Rome.<sup>3</sup> Finally, the windows in the short end walls of the transept to the north are at a level high above that of the wall sections preserved till 1921; thus they are obviously modern and must be disregarded. In the south end wall, on the other hand, traces of one of the windows were found and served as a starting point for Giovannoni's reconstruction.<sup>4</sup> However, this window too appears to be of high medieval date.

The east wall of the transept, toward the nave and aisles, and its communication with these latter were well preserved on its west face prior to Giovannoni's campaign (fig. 152a).<sup>5</sup> The opening of the triumphal arch was supported by four elements: the head bases of two T-piers, whose long legs constituted the western end piers of the nave colonnades; and two adjoining columns with Ionic capitals and impost blocks with the bolsters of the capitals facing in toward the arch opening. The piers show a brick technique slightly different from that of the lower walls of apse and transepts, in that the modulus of five courses is only 28 to 30.45 against 30 to 32 cm. Nonetheless, it has the characteristics of eighth and ninth century work and the tighter packing of the

<sup>1</sup> Giovannoni, 1924, fig. 2.

<sup>2</sup> See the Report by Rossi, 1928, p. 10.

<sup>3</sup> Giovannoni, 1924, fig. 151a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h, i, j, k, l, m, n, o, p, q, r, s, t, u, v, w, x, y, z.

<sup>4</sup> Rossi, 1928, p. 10.

<sup>5</sup> Rossi, 1928, p. 10.



Fig. 155a. *S. Maria degli Alessandri* (interior, apse wall, and arch from north, 1926 to 1928).

Fig. 155b. *S. Maria degli Alessandri* (apse from street).

bricks — producing five layers modulus — was less exact in the need to adjust to the thrust of the triumphal arch and colonnades. The shafts of the columns below the triumphal arch are remarkably alike in size to the north, but a diameter of only 0.50 m. (fig. 153a). The capitals are simple in design, with plain volutes and balustrade and without decoration on the abacus, and have been selected a small variety style.<sup>6</sup> But they obviously are Late Roman spolia. Likewise the impost blocks, which differ from each other in profile, are in second use.<sup>7</sup> The arch itself was composed of four contemporary courses of brick courses, each 16 cm. long; the inner ring rested on the column to the south and on the pier.<sup>8</sup> On either side of the arch, the transept led to the sides through wide double openings. They had been closed by later brickwork, either in the form of blind arcades, but they were easily stable prior to 1921, as were the surrounding walls. Both the north and south bays are plain on their west faces, toward the transept, but are decorated on their east faces toward the aisle. The spolia on the north shows fluting and is clearly the fragment of a column; the one to the south bears a double row of animals and suggests an eighth or ninth century date (fig. 153b). The blocks each were composed of two bricks meeting halfway and joined at one end by the head but separating the end wall of the transept and the aisle wall. The visible fragments of the opening had disappeared by 1921 (fig. 152a);<sup>9</sup> they were replaced through the opening by columns, found in fragments in the excavations (remains of bases, shafts and capitals all Roman spolia) (pl. X).

<sup>6</sup> Giovannoni, 1924, p. 10.

<sup>7</sup> Michelangelo and Raphael (7) do not seem to have been concerned by the fact that the capitals of the columns below the triumphal arch are remarkably alike in size to the north, but a diameter of only 0.50 m. (fig. 153a). The capitals are simple in design, with plain volutes and balustrade and without decoration on the abacus, and have been selected a small variety style.

<sup>8</sup> See also Rossi's report on the excavations, 1928, p. 10.

<sup>9</sup> Giovannoni, 1924, p. 10.

— Rossi, 1928, p. 10.

In the 1590s, from the niches surmounted by a semicircular arch, all embedded into the masonry (after the removal of the upper wall) (fig. 152a). In the wall to the south only one flat arch is visible above the niches and there is no trace of a semicircular relieving arch (fig. 152b). The vousoirs of all these relieving arches are composed of single rows of bricks, 13 cm long. All these elements were faithfully restored by Giovannoni (including the missing columns midway in the openings between transept and aisles).

### 3. The nave

The nave is 41.90 m. long from the triumphal arch to the façade and 8 m. wide, measured between the column shafts on either side (pl. XI, fig. 153). In its middle it is crossed by a diaphragm arch. Prior to Giovannoni's campaign its area was occupied in its east half by the eighteenth century nave; further west, that is, beyond the diaphragm arch, by the chancel niche and the sacristy. However, the north wall of the late nave still enclosed the east end pier as well as the first four columns of the original north colonnade, indicated as early as 1893 on Busiri's plan (fig. 150a).<sup>1</sup> Similarly, the east end pier of the south colonnade and its third and fourth columns had survived in the late nave wall.<sup>2</sup> The end piers continue somewhat into the masonry of the eighteenth century façade to a full length of 2.00 m.<sup>3</sup> Hence the façade of the original building was slightly further east and the total length of the nave must have been about 25.50 m.<sup>4</sup> All these elements were uncovered and restored by Giovannoni. At the same time a fifth column was uncovered in the north colonnade, the first to the west of the diaphragm arch. The columns differ from each other in height, diameter and material and are each composed of disparate elements.<sup>5</sup> The first and fourth shafts to the north and the fourth to the south are fluted and, except for the first to the north, so high that they require no bases. The other columns, of *repulus* and grey granite, sit on attic bases and pilasters. The capitals throughout, range from Corinthian to full leaf capitals of differing sizes and dates. All this material is obviously in second use. The intercolumniations of the north colonnade as well vary in width from m. 2.41 to m. 2.55.<sup>6</sup> The colonnades carried an architrave. Only a small part of it is preserved, between the fifth column to the north and the pier of the diaphragm arch; all the rest dates from Giovannoni's campaign.<sup>7</sup> Large parts of the upper walls were apparently well preserved prior to 1931, reaching nearly their present height. But they dated from a twelfth or thirteenth century rebuilding, as did the windows which were reopened by Giovannoni; their shape and size, as he rightly suggested, point to a high medieval date.<sup>8</sup> At present, of course, these walls and their nine steep and narrow windows date largely from Giovannoni's campaign. Certainly the walls in the west half of the nave were erected in that campaign, as were the walls in the east part which stand behind the surviving columns to the north and enclose those to the south, thus forming the boundaries of the present nave.

The diaphragm arch which cuts the nave into two unequal parts is obviously old, though later

<sup>1</sup> ROBERTO DE FERRIS, *op. cit.* pl. 431, see also ibid. p. 9 and GIOVANNINI, 1932, p. 183.

<sup>2</sup> GIOVANNINI, 1932, p. 184; refers to only one column found in situ, inside the south wall, but his observation (ibid. 1931, fig. 6) shows no such trace; the more numerous of the same series (under and damaged) were found in the north colonnade (ibid. p. 185).

<sup>3</sup> Noted by Busiri from the north; the end pier of the north colonnade was m. 1.80 long; see ROBERTO DE FERRIS, *op. cit.* pl. 431.

<sup>4</sup> Indeed, Busiri (ibid. 1931, see FERRIS, *op. cit.* pl. 431) gives a length of m. 25.40 for the south aisle, but his reconstructed plan in the north aisle has been corrected, presumably erroneously, to 25.47.

<sup>5</sup> The first column found by Busiri (ROBERTO DE FERRIS, *op. cit.* p. 432, measured in 1931 and 1932 respectively, in diameter).

<sup>6</sup> ROBERTO DE FERRIS, *op. cit.* pl. 431.

<sup>7</sup> GIOVANNINI, 1932, p. 183; also 1934, p. 10.

<sup>8</sup> Also, in a later several rebuilding, these windows were apparently blocked and replaced by fifteenth century pointed windows, which were down, corresponding to the lowering of the nave roof (ibid., p. 24).



Fig. 153. S. Marco, Nave (Venice, 1931). From the author's collection.

than the original building. Its supporting piers consist of single courses of ashlar masonry and its vousoirs, rather than being formed by single long bricks, are placed vertically, more often than not, from two or three small bricks, as was the building practice in Rome in the high Middle Ages.<sup>9</sup>

The original nave façade shows on the interior two windows, so high up that only their lower parts show below the modern roof beams. Giovannoni has assigned them to the original thirteenth century building,<sup>10</sup> but both their position and their narrow openings seem to point to a date in the high Middle Ages.

### 4. The Aisles

Giovannoni reported that the aisles were completely rebuilt prior to his own campaign.<sup>11</sup> In any event, he himself thoroughly rebuilt the systemmatic stretches of both aisle walls adjoining the transept for a distance of m. 4.50. These aisle fragments were also closed off to the east by modern walls. Yet, the south aisle wall seems to have survived, wholly or in part, possibly until 1931 and certainly in 1870-1893, as indicated by Robaul de Fleury's legend on Busiri's plan (fig. 150).<sup>12</sup> Indeed, a stretch of this wall, more than 12 meters long, has been incorporated in

<sup>9</sup> GIOVANNINI, 1932, p. 185; considers as thirteenth century the fragments of the nave.

<sup>10</sup> GIOVANNINI, 1931, p. 10.

<sup>11</sup> GIOVANNINI, 1932, p. 183; also 1934, p. 10.

<sup>12</sup> See above, p. 186, n. 2, and p. 24.



FIG. 102. S. Martin (left) (Abbey). View of ancient and medieval crypts during excavation 1937



FIG. 101. S. Martin (left) (Abbey). North facade above 30-cm level, during excavation 1937

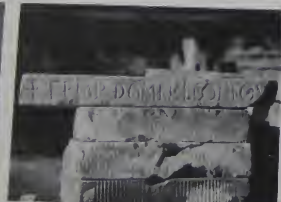


FIG. 103. S. Stevano (left) (Abbey). Inscription of Leo IV from crypt

the modern masonry wall near its eastern end close to the façade. It is at present but 50 cm. high, but clearly shows the block technique customary in ninth-century Rente; undulating courses, irregular workmanship, mortarbeds of uneven thickness, and a modulus of 30 cm. for five courses<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 115.

Of the north wall only the stones adjoining the entrance were preserved in situ (Fig. 107). It remains visible in situ one story or restored to the north side wall, above the building entrance (see below). Roman masonry in the high Middle Ages<sup>2</sup>. The rest of the north wall and the entire south side in 1824 (Fig. 108) and in 1935, and in 1937 remain undisturbed. However, here also, wall construction technique of the thirteenth century, probably without a break in the masonry. Presumably, the sides were on a wall, in the thirteenth century, the entire church structure.

### 5. The crypt

The remains of the crypt were excavated by Government and preserved in a basement, under high to carry by high channel. Other stone were found in the course of excavation (Fig. 109). The channel sashes the crypt, in the middle of the crypt, and behind the altar, of stone from the *fenestella conchyliata*, the latter is separated from the base stone by channel arches. Above, the channel screens and *fenestella* are seen, but the former three hundred and sixteen and the original fragment of the stone is seen in a circle of small history data.

The remains of the crypt represent the remains of the crypt, the entrance in Rente, in St. Peter's under Gregory I, 590-604, and remained original form, and almost built the crypt through the ninth century, though with variations (Fig. 110). At St. Nicholas (right) Mainz, the semi-circular corridor, 3.00 m. wide, followed by an apse, the outer curve of the apse at 0.70 m. below nave level, front kept described in a plan of the crypt (Fig. 111). From the apex of the curved corridor a short passage, only one meter long, led west into a pentagonal chamber below the area of the transept. Its lateral arms were provided with low narrow benches in stone. The east arm, deeper than the other three, passed into a narrow corridor terminated by a thin wall, beyond the latter, very close to the line of the triangular arc, was a small semicircular pit, presumably the bottom of the *confiteor* with its *fenestella* at nave level. Two apse apses, one level below, on either side of the narrow corridor were presumably filled with earth and supported the floor of the channel area. The walls of the crypt are preserved to a height of about 1.5 m. They are built of brickwork with a modulus of 30.5 cm. for five courses and are obviously contemporary with the bottom parts of the apse. The pavement both in the square corridor and in the oval chamber is composed of fragmented thin marble plaques and the descending steps are Roman granite (Fig. 112). The outer wall of the annular corridor contained three niches for placing lamps as customary in Carolingian crypts. Photographs taken during the excavation show that these niches were of one build with the original apse masonry. Moreover, one of the niches surrounding the niches bears an inscription: <sup>1</sup> TEMPT DOMINUS, <sup>2</sup> it is carved on a block in several pieces which is inscribed on its bottom side, <sup>3</sup> DOMINUS, <sup>4</sup> the crypt<sup>5</sup>. The walls of this niche and presumably of the other two as well were lined with marble plaques and gold<sup>6</sup>.

### 6. The earlier structures

Structures antedating the church were uncovered by Gossansons below nave level and were enclosed in three basement rooms, built for that purpose and accessible by a staircase in the rear-eastern bay of the north aisle. The level of the basement rooms is 1.50 m. below that of the

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 115.

<sup>2</sup> S. Diezmann, *Die mittelalterliche Kunst der Normandie*, 207-210, 211, p. 119. <sup>3</sup> See also, *Die mittelalterliche Kunst der Normandie*, 207-210, 211, p. 119. <sup>4</sup> See also, *Die mittelalterliche Kunst der Normandie*, 207-210, 211, p. 119. <sup>5</sup> See also, *Die mittelalterliche Kunst der Normandie*, 207-210, 211, p. 119. <sup>6</sup> See also, *Die mittelalterliche Kunst der Normandie*, 207-210, 211, p. 119.

<sup>6</sup> Gossansons, 1922, p. 109, 110, 111, p. 111.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 111.

present masonry. Through the assistance of Mr. Eugenio Montesi we were able to present a first survey of the early structures. This seems the more desirable, since in their majority they appear to have belonged to a group of mausolea which formed a westward extension of the mausoleum found under St. Peter's.

The three basement rooms which shelter the early structures are located, the first, below the west end of the nave (basement I); the second, below the west area of the north aisle (basement II); the third below the entire length of the south aisle (basement III). All are interconnected, basements II and III being entered from basement I.

#### a) BELOW THE NAVE

Basement I is entered from the descending stairs through an anteroom located below the west-approach area of the north aisle. From there an anteroom, apparently modern, leads into the basement which extends below the western portion of the nave. To the west, roughly 2.50 m. from the line of the transept with the basement is terminated by a brick wall standing at a slightly oblique angle to the axis of the church. The masonry is regular, the modulus for five courses decreases between 22 and 24 cm. Drain holes at regular distances suggest the function of the wall. It would seem to be a retaining wall, designed to prevent landslides caused by the thrust of the masses projecting from the piers that support the arch. It may well have been built in the twelfth century in the course of a thorough rebuilding campaign of the church.<sup>3</sup> At its south end the wall turns at a right angle — the bonding is unmistakable — and extends tongue-like east, repeating a branch of the north wall of the westernmost of the Roman mausolea below the south aisle. The lower regular brick masonry marks the upper parts of the huge clumsy pier and its attached pillars which to the north project into the basement room, setting it off against both the transept and the structure buried below the north aisle.

The south tongue in its eastern end abuts against a stretch of wall composed of but one course of large rubble blocks and running south to north. The blocks appear to be continued by a stretch of rough-hewn wall roughly across the center axis of the basement room. Similar blocks serve as foundations of the clumsy north pier, while others extend in a light irregular curve along the foot of the south wall of the basement room. The blocks nowhere seem to form a regular pattern and appear to be in second use.

Along the north boundary of basement I, the eastward direction initiated by the brick tongue is continued by a wall of poor rubble work intermingled with brick. It is backed against the north pier which forms the entrance to the westernmost of the Roman mausolea below the south aisle and extends back 7.50 m. from the line of the brick tongue. Also, it oversails both the north-south rubble wall by the western end and another wall, of brick and rubble work, running parallel to the latter, massive and a half meter east. A niche, but 60 cm. wide and facing north, opens in the wall, approximately close to the tuba wall. Both the size of the niche and the technique of construction suggest that the structure was a chapel of early medieval date. The floor level of the wall with the niche has sixty-odd centimeters above the earth floor of the basement and it may well have been the pavement attached to this wall which builders of the sacristy struck in 1073-1079 fourteen palmi, that is, 3 1/2 m. below the eighteenth century pavement; it lay, one recalls, 1.20 m. above the present floor of the church, which in turn is 2.65 m. above basement level.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. below p. 201.

#### b) BELOW THE NORTH AISLE

In basement II below the western part of the northern aisle, Cosulich found the remains of another construction, apparently of quite different date and function. Upon entering the basement room from basement I to the south, a long brick wall extends to the left, forming the outer wall of the structure, 6.50 m. east of the east wall of the transept. The wall is visible for a height of 6.00 m., but it clearly continues further north. The brickwork of the wall is characterized by its extraordinarily high modulus up to 35 and 36 cm. for five courses and it is intermingled with pieces of stone and marble. The wall is met at its south end by another wall running east at right angles, but this was either newly built by Giovannoni or thoroughly restored beyond recognition. Two columns stand against the long west wall, one in the southwest corner, the other 1.70 m. farther north, 0.50 m. from the foundation wall of the north aisle. Two more columns are opposite, at a distance of 3.60 m. from the first pair. The column shafts — only their top parts, between 50 and 60 cm., emerge above present ground level — are obviously spolia, all of different length and diameter. Likewise, the Corinthian capitals are spolia, differing in size and design. The columns to the east, originally freestanding, were later enclosed in clumsy piers built of irregular brickwork, possibly of early medieval date. The columns along the west wall carried wall arches, each 0.60 m. deep and formed of bipedales. Only the springing survives, one curving north from the southwest column, two more curving north and south from the northwest column. A fourth arch links the southwest column to the southeast column opposite, but we are uncertain whether originally it was a wall arch attached to the eastern of the north wall or a free-standing arch. Likewise, the springing of the groin vault is seen above the northwest column. All these springings and arches show that the bay marked by the four surviving columns was covered by a groin vault; that this bay was continued north by at least one more groin vaulted bay; and hence, that the structure was a colonnaded *loggia*, open toward the east.<sup>4</sup> The diameters of the column shafts, 0.50-0.55 m., and the height of their capitals above basement level, suggests that the original pavement of this *loggia* was ca. m. 3.20 below the level of the basement and ca. 5.80 m. below that of the nave.<sup>5</sup> The total height of the *loggia*, to the crown of the groin vaults would, then, have been 7.50 m. The brickwork of the west wall suggests a fourth century date. The late piers, on the other hand, which enclose the southeast and northeast columns, show poor brickwork presumably of seventh or eighth century date.

#### c) BELOW THE SOUTH AISLE

The remains of a row of mausolea are preserved in basement III below the south aisle. Even, it seems to us, can be identified: the first at the east end, the last at the west end of the aisle where it adjoins the transept and, excepting this latter, all closely built against each other. The east wall of the first mausoleum was used by the builders of the church to support the facade of the north aisle; correspondingly, the west wall of the last mausoleum carries the opening and the surrounding wall between aisle and transept. The south walls of the mausolea run parallel to the south wall of the aisle and their north walls parallel to the south colonnade of the nave. But they stand at a distance up to 1.30 m. from the aisle wall and the colonnade respectively and therefore do

<sup>4</sup> Cosulich, *op. cit.* p. 7, 1, believed the structure to be a wall 30 ft. 4 in. or 9.14 m. high.

<sup>5</sup> Cosulich, *op. cit.* p. 7, calculated a level 20 palmi below that of the nave.

has been recognised (see especially, instead, this may have served as a backing for the foundation walls of the church.

The four mausolea in the east part of the area are built of *opus testaceum* in different techniques suggesting second and third century dates. The walls of the mausolea 1, 2 and 5 are set with small round arched apses (designed to contain ash urns), mausoleum 4, on the other hand, was provided with large wall niches to shelter sarcophagi. While the two mausolea at the east end, 1 and 2, appear to be more or less contemporary and built each in one single campaign, mausoleum 3 is built against the west wall of mausoleum 2 and is thus later in date. Moreover, it was apparently altered in some ways and provided with a new vault. Likewise, mausoleum 4 shows traces of a rebuilding in which piers were inserted in the corners to support strengthening arches, a technique pointing to the third century. Mausoleum 5 may have been contemporary to start with, as witness remains of the west wall adjoining mausoleum 4, and built in the same technique. On the other hand, the west wall of mausoleum 5 differs greatly. Set with two levels of the customary Roman shape, it now shows a different type of decoration. Bauls of brick, ranging from three to five and more courses, alternate with bands of roughly hewn stone, likewise of varying height: a technique of building customary in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in Rome, but quite unknown in antiquity.

Behind, presumably in the course of rebuilding large parts of the church in the high Middle Ages, the area below the south aisle was covered with vaulting: barrel vaults in the east, terminated by a groin vault at the west end<sup>1</sup>.

The placing of the *loculi* in mausolea 1 and 2, roughly 1.40 m. from the present earth floor of the *basilica* and the lack of *loculi* traces further down suggest that the original floor of these mausolea corresponded roughly to the present one. Concomitantly it is clear that their vaults were quite high up and were faced when the church was built, much as were those of the mausolea below St. Peter's. The new vaults inserted in mausolea 3, 4 and 5 start at a far lower level, ca. 0.90 m. from the present earth floor, and it is likely that the original floor in these mausolea was much lower down.

## F. RECONSTRUCTION

The work undertaken by Giovannoni between 1931 and 1933 has fairly faithfully reconstructed the church as it appeared by the twelfth or thirteenth century. The rebuilding which must have taken place at that time had indeed obliterated a good number of ninth century elements, substituting for them features of high medieval design and techniques<sup>2</sup>. Such were the upper walls of the nave above the entablature, the clerestory windows; the diaphragm arch thrown across the nave, the south, west and north walls of the transept, the former two presumably only in their upper parts, the south half of the east wall in the south transept wing; the upper portions of the apse walls, the wall of the north aisle, certainly where it adjoins the transept and perhaps in its entire length, possibly the narthex drawn by Alfaro; and certainly, the extant frame of the main portal<sup>3</sup>. Despite the great extent of these alterations, enough remains to determine the plan and, partially at least, the elevation of the earlier church. Decisive for the reconstruction are, then, the lower

portions of the apse and of the west transept walls; the massive upper, but triangular, arch, pier or supporting T-pier; the east wall of the north transept and the relieving arch above its north spring; part of the east wall of the south transept following the principal arch and forming one of the relieving arches; the raised limit of the nave opening leading to the long narthex, the colonnade of the nave and the surviving piece of colonnade; the outer facade and the torus pier at the east end of the nave; above all, finally, the remaining stretch of wall of the north aisle near the facade. Hence, the original building can be outlined: the nave, 76 R. in front and 27 R. in depth, in a proportion of 1:3; the raised and colonnaded, side openings with arches ending at axial distances varying around 4 1/2 R. fr., the remaining square piers, pier 1, R. fr. long projecting from the interior facade as well as from the T-pier at the end of the nave; the triumphal arch and its supporting piers and columns; the aisles, each 5 R. fr. wide, with their nave openings towards the transept, albeit partly rebuilt in the south; the remaining transept, 22 R. fr. deep and 62 1/2 R. fr. long along its west wall, 64 fr. along its east wall; the apse, the massive crypt and *confessio* and hence the raised chancel in the apse and the protrusion into the transept; finally, the overall measurements of the church, 130 R. fr. long and 75 R. fr. wide including the thickness of the outer walls, of the aisles, apse and facade. In the elevation a number of *loculi* points obviously remain<sup>4</sup>, the original height of nave and transept; the nave portion just above of the original windows, the present ones being restituted on the basis of such medieval rather than ninth century predecessors; the existence of original windows in the upper third of the raised chancel, including its height, length and width, of the chancel mosaic, the canopy above and the *fenestella* below the altar.

Another point in doubt is the reconstruction of the area in front of the original facade. Alfaro's plan of 1921-1926 indicates the existence of 3 narthexes supported by columns between corner piers but none of the other sixteenth century plans and views, including Baldoni's map of 1550, show such a narthex. It is true that Alfaro may have seen elements similar to other narthexes and indeed, a narthex of the type shown by him was perfectly recoverable by other observers and, witness as for instance at SS. Nereo ed Achilleo near the Baths of Caracalla<sup>5</sup>. But it was rapidly fragile, and indeed more frequently found in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, as at S. Lorenzo in Lavina, S. Lorenzo Elm. and S. Maria in Trastevere among others<sup>6</sup>. Hence, if indeed it was seen by Alfaro at S. Stefano degli Abbatini, then narthex walls at all have been added in the building campaign of the twelfth or thirteenth centuries.

The structures buried below the church, are so far too little known to allow for a reliable reconstruction. Only this much is certain, that there below the south aisle are mausolea of a type customary in the first, second and third centuries. Also the *loculi* scattered below the north aisle may well have been a funerary construction. Nor is there any doubt that all these mausolea are but an extension of the necropolis which they buried under St. Peter's. The existence of a graveyard west of St. Peter's has, indeed, long been known and it has equally been known that the graveyard remained in use long after St. Peter's had been built<sup>7</sup>. The find of a sarcophagus of sixth century date in front of S. Stefano degli Abbatini, is but added proof<sup>8</sup>.

Within the context of our studies, the facts made below the nave are possibly of greater import. Both the use of tufa blocks, presumably spall, and the poor rubble masonry of the wall along the

<sup>1</sup> See also Giovannoni, 1931, pp. 20-22 and 41 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See above, Vol. II, p. 145, 150.

<sup>3</sup> See above, Vol. II, p. 94, and p. 170 ff.; Vol. III, p. 89.

<sup>4</sup> *Visioni*. In *Storia e topografia monumentale di Roma*, 3. *Parte Roma*, 110, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

<sup>7</sup> *Visioni*, p. 214 ff.; *Roma*, *Roma antiche*, 1928, pp. 371, *Antichità Romane*, 1, pp. 132-3.

<sup>8</sup> *Giornale*, 1928, p. 35.

<sup>1</sup> Giovannoni, 1931, p. 20.

<sup>2</sup> Giovannoni, 1931, *ibidem*, pp. 1-2.

<sup>3</sup> Giovannoni, *ibidem*, p. 36, suggests the possibility that the present reconstructed lower nave ceiling (which) there is no evidence to this

such instances of basaltic lavae not shown the building techniques of Roman antiquity) and perhaps, especially the last eight and the ninth centuries mark (typical one in the fourth century with or without a S. Stefano? false block), the rubble masonry suggests an earlier period, possibly the late empire or the sixth century. The brickwork of the church, here developing the original tradition of the *opus in basamento*,<sup>11</sup> likewise suggests building operations antedating the Carolingian times. No reconstruction proposals are possible, but the fact should be pointed out

#### G. CHRONOLOGY

The masonry found southwards the church no doubt bore fruit of the westward extension of the atrium (extant today St. Peter's). A number of them appear in date from the second and third centuries. But some may be earlier or later. In particular, the *loggia* construction but not below the north aisle of S. Stefano suggests a date in the fourth century. The rubble walls cannot follow the nave may be of even later date.

Prevailing opinion has attributed the construction of the church of S. Stefano degli Abessinii to the reigns of Leo III, presumably in or about 800, because of its building activity is registered in the *Liber Pontificalis*.<sup>12</sup> The crypt on the other hand has been considered a later addition and assigned, on the basis of the inscription surmounting one of the lamp niches, to the pontificate of Leo IV (847-855).<sup>13</sup> This opinion no longer seems tenable to us.

The passage in the biography of Leo III clearly does not refer to the building of a church of major proportions. It hints his activity specifically to the rebuilding and re-founding ('*restructio fundationis*') of an older monastery and of its oratory — simul cum oratorio<sup>14</sup>), presumably small, as indicated also by the not lightning feature shown in B66<sup>15</sup>. On the other hand, the archaeological evidence leaves no doubt that the crypt is of one build with the church itself. Since it is dated by the inscription to Leo IV and since the lintel which bears this inscription seems to have been finished with the brickwork of apse and crypt, the entire church would seem to date from his pontificate! Nonetheless it is strange that the extensive biography of the pope in the *Liber Pontificalis* does not mention at all any building activity at S. Stefano degli Abessinii. Hence one is confronted with a dilemma: either the church was built by Leo IV and in that case the silence of his biography (if plausible) or it was built by Leo III and returned simply an oratory, — and this is equally strange. Moreover, in the latter case, the lintel bearing the inscription of Leo IV must have been either inserted into the wall of the existing crypt, or else the inscription was carved on a stone already since the time of Leo III. Unfortunately, the plan, proportions, design of the crypt under the lunette of construction do not provide incontrovertible evidence for either an early or a mid-ninth century date. The masonry techniques changed very little from the beginning to after the middle of the century, as shown by a series of securely dated buildings, such as S. Anastasia, SS. Nereo ed Achilleo (near the Baths of Caracalla), S. Prassede, S. Martino ai Monti, S. Maria Nuova (S. Francesco Romana).<sup>16</sup> Annular crypts, too, are common throughout that hall

<sup>11</sup> See above the various old foundations, esp. pp. 111-112, for the *basamento*. — De Lottoraj, *Rivista*, 7, Art. Bibliog. di Roma, 1910, pp. 46-47, 50.

<sup>12</sup> *Biografia*, pp. 107-108; *Monumenti*, vol. 1, p. 107.

<sup>13</sup> *Monumenti*, vol. 1, p. 107.

<sup>14</sup> The phrase *restructio fundationis*, like the *reg. domus* clearly building

<sup>15</sup> *Monumenti*, vol. 1, p. 112; *Monumenti*, vol. 1, Pl. III, p. 112; S. Prassede, *Archiv*, vol. III, p. 149; S. Maria

<sup>16</sup> *Monumenti*, vol. III, p. 112; *Monumenti*, vol. III, p. 112.

throughout the city (basilical colonnades). The only indication of a late date setting the precise locality for the building of S. Stefano being. Moreover it is possible the same basaltic lavae mentioned at any instance of uniformity in the use of square blocks the column shafts, — *opus in vitro* by contrast — churches of early ninth century date, such as S. Prassede, etc. which manifest greater regularity. Hence, S. Stefano must date from the time of Leo III, whose pontificate appeared in the crypt. A date of construction under Leo III could be supported only if, indeed, the time of Leo IV's inscription being a later addition could be assigned.

In any case, contrary to the prevailing assumption, the church building of crypt was built in one single campaign. The original basaltic construction was not confined to portions of the activity of Pope Leo IV. The later remodeling was easily dated. Obviously, since there is the main campaign during which large parts of the original structure were entirely rebuilt, including most of the transept, the apse portions of the nave and the crypt, and presumably parts of the aisles. The displaced arch across the nave, too, belongs to this campaign of rebuilding which we should like to date in the eighth or ninth century.<sup>17</sup> Likewise, against the tradition, now enclosed in the basament masonry, that from the rebuilding campaign, presumably, the retaining wall which forms the western boundary of basament I, and almost certainly, the western terminating wall of mausoleum I, in basament III — probably related or rebuilt when the east wall of the south transept was rebuilt.<sup>18</sup> In a formal, from historical, the later dismantling of the nave were blocked and, in consequence, the side-aisles, and, particularly, the nave walls were apparently reduced to the height and width of the crypt, in a programme taken prior to Giovanni's campaign.<sup>19</sup> Giovanni suggested a date shortly after 1197 for his remodeling to which he assigned also the construction of the double arch<sup>20</sup> which have suggested date as late as the early seventeenth century,<sup>21</sup> and, indeed, at least in 1790.<sup>22</sup> None of these dates are, in our opinion, tenable. The reduction of the church to the east and transept areas alone and the lowering of their walls, but not the construction of the high arches of double arch, can date only from the thirteenth century. By analogy with the similar remodeling of S. Prassede, S. Maria Vecchia and others we propose a date by the pontificate of Sixtus IV.<sup>23</sup> At the same time, a rebuilding or *fundamentis* is reported.<sup>24</sup> Also some structural alterations will seem by Giovanni would seem to confirm this date: the Gothic "backrest of the last barrel" and the blocking by a two-rectangle pattern of the opening between the transept and the north aisle.<sup>25</sup>

The final rebuilding in the eighteenth century and the restoration of the church by Giovanni are well dated and require no further discussion.

While the construction of the original church can be assigned with certainty to the ninth century and, in all likelihood, to the pontificate of Leo IV (847-855), the date of the nineteenth part in that date is difficult to unravel. The diffusion presupposed in part by the evidence near St. Peter's

<sup>17</sup> See above, pp. 110-111.

<sup>18</sup> *Monumenti*, vol. III, p. 112; S. Prassede, *Archiv*, vol. III, p. 149; S. Prassede, *Archiv*, vol. III, p. 149; S. Prassede, *Archiv*, vol. III, p. 149; S. Prassede, *Archiv*, vol. III, p. 149.

<sup>19</sup> See above, p. 110.

<sup>20</sup> We cannot explain the presence of a certain wall of double arches, — *opus in vitro* by contrast — churches of early ninth century date, such as S. Prassede, etc. which manifest greater regularity.

<sup>21</sup> *Monumenti*, vol. III, p. 112.

<sup>22</sup> *Monumenti*, vol. III, p. 112.

<sup>23</sup> *Monumenti*, vol. III, p. 112.

<sup>24</sup> *Monumenti*, vol. III, p. 112.

<sup>25</sup> *Monumenti*, vol. III, p. 112.

<sup>26</sup> *Monumenti*, vol. III, p. 112.

<sup>27</sup> *Monumenti*, vol. III, p. 112.

<sup>28</sup> *Monumenti*, vol. III, p. 112.

<sup>29</sup> *Monumenti*, vol. III, p. 112.

<sup>30</sup> *Monumenti*, vol. III, p. 112.

<sup>31</sup> *Monumenti*, vol. III, p. 112.

<sup>32</sup> *Monumenti*, vol. III, p. 112.

<sup>33</sup> *Monumenti*, vol. III, p. 112.

<sup>34</sup> *Monumenti*, vol. III, p. 112.

<sup>35</sup> *Monumenti*, vol. III, p. 112.

<sup>36</sup> *Monumenti*, vol. III, p. 112.

<sup>37</sup> *Monumenti*, vol. III, p. 112.

<sup>38</sup> *Monumenti*, vol. III, p. 112.

<sup>39</sup> *Monumenti*, vol. III, p. 112.

<sup>40</sup> *Monumenti*, vol. III, p. 112.

<sup>41</sup> *Monumenti*, vol. III, p. 112.

<sup>42</sup> *Monumenti*, vol. III, p. 112.

<sup>43</sup> *Monumenti*, vol. III, p. 112.

<sup>44</sup> *Monumenti*, vol. III, p. 112.

<sup>45</sup> *Monumenti*, vol. III, p. 112.

<sup>46</sup> *Monumenti*, vol. III, p. 112.

<sup>47</sup> *Monumenti*, vol. III, p. 112.

<sup>48</sup> *Monumenti*, vol. III, p. 112.

<sup>49</sup> *Monumenti*, vol. III, p. 112.

<sup>50</sup> *Monumenti*, vol. III, p. 112.

<sup>51</sup> *Monumenti*, vol. III, p. 112.

<sup>52</sup> *Monumenti*, vol. III, p. 112.

<sup>53</sup> *Monumenti*, vol. III, p. 112.

<sup>54</sup> *Monumenti*, vol. III, p. 112.

<sup>55</sup> *Monumenti*, vol. III, p. 112.



of two monasteries dedicated to Saint Stephen: one was "S. Stephani minoris" founded between 750 and 771 by Pope Stephen II, who added it to the three monasteries already existing nearby, St. Martin, Sts. John and Paul and an older St. Stephen, "S. Stephani maioris".<sup>1</sup> This older St. Stephen is not listed in Euseb as simply "S. Stephani", seu basilicam apostoli,<sup>2</sup> together with St. Martin and St. John, and Paul, and it may well be the same as "S. Stephani cata Galla Patricia", listed in 825 as owning a house near the monastery of St. Martin.<sup>3</sup> Certainly it is the congregation in this monastery which was returned by Hadrian I and assigned to servants at St. Peter's; the denomination *cata Barbara patrice* can only be a lapsus calami of the compiler of the *Liber Pontificalis*,<sup>4</sup> again it is this monastery of S. Stefano cata Galla Patricia which was rebuilt by Leo III. It remains still a moot question whether or not it is identical with the monastery "Sancta Stephana quae ipsius apostolatus monasterium", listed twice at the time of Leo III, in 802 and again prior to 817.<sup>5</sup> However, it is likely that the two are the same; indeed, no monastery of S. Stefano Maggiore is included in Leo's donation list of 806, while S. Stefano cata Galla Patricia is listed. The identity of the two certainly was accepted opinion in the eleventh century.<sup>6</sup> If the two, then, are indeed identical, Paschal I, when abbot of S. Stefano Maggiore-cata Galla Patricia, would have changed its function to that of a pilgrims' hostel.<sup>7</sup>

Regardless of this identity or non-identity, however, the greatest doubts concern the relation of the monastery of S. Stefano cata Galla Patricia to the nunnery to which the lady Galla Patricia withdrew in the late sixth century, possibly after having founded it.<sup>8</sup> The nunnery is never again mentioned after 543-54. It may have been taken over some time before 757 (or indeed, before 732) by a congregation of monks, who incorporated her name into that of their monastery. But it is equally possible that this monastery merely rose near the old nunnery of Galla Patricia and the prebys was below added to her name might even suggest that it was at the foot of the hill on the slope of which the latter was located. Of course, it is tempting to think that Galla Patricia set up her nunnery in the graveyard which extended behind St. Peter's, and that she used for that purpose some of the *exedrae*. Assuming that her nunnery was taken over later by a congregation of monks, the possibility arises that some of the walls found below the nave of S. Stefano degli Abessini, are part of a construction added to the nunnery in the late seventh or the early eighth century. But all this remains unproven.

## H. HISTORICAL POSITION

S. Stefano degli Abessini clearly takes its place among the Carolingian churches in Rome and elsewhere which revive Early Christian basilica types. In plan it is closest to S. Prassede, with its nave, wide aisles, transept, annular crypt, treated colonnades and twin openings between aisles and transept, the latter a reminiscence of the triple openings of the aisles at St. Peter's. Just because of the close resemblance to S. Prassede, it would be important to know whether S. Stefano was built under Leo III and thus prior to S. Prassede, or under Leo IV and hence after its sister church. At this point the question must remain undecided, although we incline toward the later date.

<sup>1</sup> *L. P. I., I. p. 110* (St. Stephen II); Gregory III, 771-773, 776-777; *Monasterium quae domus basilicam apostoli et basilicam, monasterium Johannis et Pauli, monasterium sancti Martini*. I. 108; I. 101. In *Acta monasterii s. p. p. basilicam apostoli et basilicam, monasterium Johannis et Pauli, monasterium sancti Martini*, pp. 101 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 167, 220.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 167, 220.

<sup>4</sup> *Liber pontificalis*, pp. 220 ff. and prior to p. 172.

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 167, 220.

<sup>6</sup> See above, p. 167, 220.

<sup>7</sup> See above, p. 167, 220.

<sup>8</sup> See above, p. 167, 220.

## S. STEFANO ROTONDO

(R. Anselmino, S. Stefano)

### A. BIBLIOGRAPHY

- BONDO, *Roma antichissima* (1640), 1327, n. 10.  
 BOUTET, *Sabbato*, [L'Espresso] 20. PAROLA, *Comunicazione di un'epistola*, *L'Espresso* (1958), 141.  
 BRUNNEN, *Die Kirchen*, London, 1904, p. 171, also in *Museo*, "Il cardinale del Piano, 1327", *Ann. de. Rom.*, 1894, p. 180, n. 10, p. 181, n. 10.  
 MURRI, *Le chiese del Lazio*, Rome, 1904, vol. VIII, "Basiliche e monasteri", p. 101, n. 10.  
 ALBERTINI, *Opuscolo di Memorie*, Rome, 1750, n. 10.  
 FER. MARIANO, *Epistole*, *Epistole*, 1917, p. 140.  
 FALDI, *Dati aneddotici di Roma*, Venice, 1913, p. 204.  
 MALLO, *Le antichità di Roma*, Venice, 1848, p. 84, 1.  
 RADUS, *Roma, esse Martini* (1840) = 1771 of *S. STEFANO ROTONDO*, *Memorie*, 1864, p. 71.  
 FER. NARDI, *Casa monasterio*, 1801, n. 93.  
 UGIANO, *Stefano*, 1498, c. 2, 200 ff.  
 FRANCHI-PARELLI, *Casa monasterio*, Rome, 1864, p. 71.  
 PANICOLA, *Testi medievali*, 1883, p. 284 ff., also in *1883*, p. 183, 1.  
 BARDOLINI, *Utr.*, 1811, pp. 14, 14 ff., 173 ff., pp. 18, 18 ff., 200.  
 FRANCHI, *Roma antica e moderna*, Rome, 1813, p. 109.  
 MARINELLI, *Roma in etate sacra*, 1878, p. 90.  
 MARINELLI, *Roma in etate sacra*, 1877, p. 92.  
 TITL, *Immortalmente di futura*, Rome, 1881, p. 84, 1.  
 DEMMICHIEVI, *Fedeli di Roma antica*, *Patris*, 1884, p. 78 ff., pp. 1, 2, of *Titl. in. Pallas-antiquae di Roma*, Rome, 1882, p. 32 ff., pp. 80, 80.  
 MARINELLI, *Le magnificenze di Roma antica e moderna*, Rome, 1755, p. 60 ff.  
 TITL, *Descrizione delle pitture*, 1764, pp. 101 ff., 127.  
 GUASTINI, "Tempio detto di Claudio e restituito di Costantino", *Memorie della Società di Storia e Lettere*, Rome, 1840, p. 183, n. 10.  
 VALABER AND CANINA, *Supplemento all'opera di monumenti di Roma antichissima*, I. *Colonna*, I. *Stefano*, 1840, p. 15, 1, p. 1, 14.  
 FONTANA, *Chiese di Roma*, I, 1815, p. 13, 1, p. 14.  
 PASARELLI, *Le chiese antiche*, Paris, 1870, p. 85, 1, p. 14.  
 HILTON, *Archaeologia*, *Archaeologia*, 1890, p. 43, ff.  
 NARDI, "On Churches of Rome called Santi", *Archaeologia*, 1788, p. 171, 1.  
 FORCELLI, *Enciclopedia*, VIII, 1868, p. 294, ff.  
 DE ROSA, *Memorie*, 1872, fasc. 17, "S. Stefano Rotondo", p. 1, 1.  
 ANSELMINO, *Roma nell'età di mezzo*, I, Rome, 1880, p. 103, ff.  
 DE ROSA, "La basilica di S. Stefano Rotondo ed il Monastero di S. Costanzo ed Orto", *Stagione romana della coperta di G. Piranesi*, *Stati e Monumenti*, *Stati e Monumenti*, 1880, p. 117 ff.  
 LANSIANI, *Una Basilica*, 1861, p. 71, ff.  
 HEIMANN, "Die Kirche Johannes und Paulus und die Basilika des Heiligen Stephanus", *Archaeologia*, 1872, p. 181, 1.  
 LANZANI, *Roma and Environs*, 1867, p. 1, 1, ff.  
 MEIER, *Les arts à la cour des papes*, I, *Bibliothèque de l'École Française de Rome*, 1880, p. 117 ff.  
 KREH, *Il Ponte*, I, 1906, p. 12.  
 HUPFNER, "La pianta di Roma dell'Annuario Enciclopedico", *Ann. Pont. Acad.*, 83 (1907), p. 280 ff., esp. 47.  
 ARMY AND REYNOLDS, "The casta Designation", *Journal of Roman Studies*, 14, 1923, p. 190 ff.









TEMP. S. STEPHANI ROTONDI

The view of San Stefano Rotondo. The south view of the interior corresponds with color. Museo Storico Nazionale, 1938.



The view of San Stefano Rotondo. View from the chapel toward the southern wall.

Today the church is entered through one of the original doorways, in the northeast corner of the present wall. North of the entrance, the curved wall is concealed by a rectangular building of fifteenth century date, with later additions, at present the residence of a religious community.

The church door is sheltered by an arched passage, which seems, by its style and its masonry technique, to be Romanesque, by 1310. The original doorway is encircled by a circular marble frame (inscribed) on the lintel with the monogram of Nicholas V: "PPXV". The door leads to an approximately rectangular vestibule, which obviously dates from the same remodeling. It is covered with a barrel vault with one penetration which bears the painted arms of Nicholas V. The northeast wall of the vestibule—that is, the north wall of the east chapel—was apparently also provided with a door and frame, inscribed by Nicholas V.<sup>1</sup> The north-west

wall of the vestibule, apparently built by Pope Nicholas, was later opened and turned into a loggia. This loggia gave onto a small courtyard which is bounded to the south-west by a wall of the church and by the convent buildings on the other two sides. A marble well-head bearing the arms of Leo X (1513-1521), among others<sup>2</sup> and possibly dating as early as 1511, surmounts the opening to a cistern, which lies beneath the southward pavement. At the southwest end of Nicholas V's vestibule, twin doorways lead into the church; their lintel is inscribed with Nicholas V's dedicatory inscription.<sup>3</sup> From there, one enters the wide annular aisle which surrounds the central rotunda and is divided from it by a circle of

<sup>1</sup> Unpublished manuscript.

<sup>2</sup> Filippo Baldassari, *Duecento e quattrocento. Sculture e stucchi. Tre volumi* (1909-11, 1910-11). The arms are those of the X. King of Aragon (1492-1502). Antonio Cazzaniga, *Stucchi e stucchi stucchi* (Torino, 1929) (1931), *Arch. Vitt. Emanuele*.

<sup>3</sup> See above, pp. 189-192.

rounding base—exterior (interior wall, middle vestibule, fig. 132). This circular wall of the aisle originally opened to an "external vestibule," but some of the semi-circular arches have been walled up to form the present inner wall of the church. The exterior of the framing that includes the main aisle is now blocked, since, by 1510. The thick end of the vestibule wall is circumscribed, finally, by a simple, unadorned cornice, setting off the sixth century door, suggested by large Roman capitals, which rest on pedestals, including eight composite capitals, the middle ones supporting the steps.

The inner ring of tall columns supports the cylindrical wall of the hemicycle, which has a diameter of 40.50 m. (134½ R. F.) and that 27 m. above the floor. The hemicycle wall is pierced by six windows, 11 of which are transomed, up, XII fig. 166. A transverse triple arcade on the diameter of the rotunda, and at right angles to the main axis, divides the rotunda into two parts, in addition, a wide one flanked by two Corinthian columns and two brick end piers. The transverse diaphragm arcade supports the ceiling of the rotunda, originally of timbered



The view of San Stefano Rotondo. View from the southern wall.

timbered date and similar in style to that of the smaller side and centrally situated. An oval space in the middle of the rotunda, between the east columns of the transverse arcade, is set apart for a high altar and bounded by a low, curved wall which is decorated with painted plasterwork, including the heraldic emblem of Gregory XIII. Also, with a few years after their final setting, the niches in marble, representing the Assumption of the Virgin and the Ascension of St. Stephen, the confessor.<sup>4</sup>

The main axis of the reconstructed church has its right angle to the transverse arcade and is defined by a colonnade in the columns that enclose the outer vestibule; the columns on either side of the vestibule taller and more slender than the others (cf. XIII fig. 166). Obviously, the transverse wall is defined by columns in the same vestibule which are larger than those in the diagonal sections, although not so large as those of the major axis (cf. XIII fig. 166). The two large openings at the west end of the outer wall mark a small square niche, the door opening opposite them, as the main door opens into the chapel which is the south of the base room of the cross aisle, serving

<sup>4</sup> See above, the preceding page.

<sup>5</sup> See above, the preceding page.

The original arrangement (the original<sup>1</sup>) because timbers have been incorporated into an arch which is on the left there is a doorway to the right a side room (pl. XII). A round-headed window opens into the main room of the chapel and into each of its side rooms; of the latter have disappeared the apse, the nave, the original nineteenth century transept. Further to the right, two open lateral buttresses of the septa colonnade lead into a flat roof chapel dedicated to Saints



FIG. 108. S. S. Orpheus, Basiliscus, Christiana. (From 1933.)

Stephen of Hermit and Paul the Hermit, while left of the sacristy, the corresponding four octo-stemmations in the outer colonnade coincide with the ivan doorway through which the ambulatory side is entered from the vestibule (fig. 108, right).

The chapel of Saints Stephen and Paul, the east chapel which is the surviving part of the original cross plan, the vestibule of Nicholas V and the Renaissance fragment buildings, all combine to occupy about one-third of the ambulatory space between the inner colonnade and the original perimeter wall of the church (pl. XII). The other two-thirds are now a garden (figs. 157-161). In this ambulatory wall of the garden traces survive of the three missing wings, which constituted the other arms of the cross, and of the

symmetrical apse (document which were originally designed to afford access to the church through the diagonal entrance of the perimeter wall (figs. 138, 139, 141)).

The few vestiges of Roman construction which have come to light within the area of the church may be dealt with summarily at this point. Excavating in the garden which now takes the place of the north chapel and northwest diagonal wing, Valadier came upon the lowest courses of a wall 0.10 m. thick, being more or less parallel to the outer colonnade (fig. 185). From this wall an oblique passage to wall 0.61 m. thick, extended north. Valadier's drawing is misleading in that it depicts the first wall as a segment of a circle which might be concentric with the church, however, excavation of the feature in 1909 proved that the wall in question was straight and quite unrelated to the church (fig. 185 a, b).

Excavations undertaken in 1933 by the Soprintendenza ai Monumenti del Lazio beneath the

floor of the Renaissance chapel which thanks to post-war excavations revealed considerable remains of the ancient building walls (figs. 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168), suggest a date in the fourth century. Between this and the foundations of the church walls, also representing a date of construction, there seem to be later than the church.

Finally, an excavation of the corner of the ambulatory colonnade by the Soprintendenza disclosed 0.71 m. below floor level the top underlying portion of a Roman wall, having a constant modulus of 6.6:9.2 courses per R. (i. e. 0.6' high) of the tile bricks which accompanied with the Severan period. The wall face is turned almost exactly north-west (it oblique to the orientation of the church). All these antecedent features seem likely to belong to the same occupation, remains of which are known both east and west of the site of the church.

## E. ANALYSIS

### 1. The central rounda

The present pavement of the church is concrete made of broken marble polished to a smooth surface; it is certainly later than the seventh century, but need to cover the lowest edge of the base of the two columns which carry across the nave above the triforium level of Gregorius II, (figs. 144-5). This pavement differs from that of the time of Nicholas V, (see figs. 146), its coincidence with Gregorius VIII's octagonal classical base (fig. 147). A floor plan by the Soprintendenza ai Monumenti del Lazio in 1933 near the middle of the ambulatory, showed that the concrete surface material, 0.10 m. thick, lies over a 0.10 m. thick floor of coarse concrete. The ambulatory rests on a level bed of compressed rubble soil masonry. Removing this, the foundation discovered the Severan wall described above. Nothing was found in the hollow of the excavation trench that could represent either the surface or the silhouette of an ancient pavement of the church.

Another campaign of soundings undertaken by the Soprintendenza in 1937 and 1938 has clarified the situation (fig. 164). The column drums of the rounda contain base and plinth. All the elements differ in height and design and the plinth thickness varies in height from 10 to 15 cm. The base, presumably sixteenth century pavement bases consisted parts of stone and some square bases and many of the plinths. The soundings have shown that the plinths are carried by trigonate base blocks, from as little as 17 to as much as 41 cm. high, and that these blocks in turn rest on the top of the circular foundation wall of the colonnade. The function of the blocks was obviously to maintain the varying heights of the shaft bases and plinths all approximately equal. In the intercolumniation between the base blocks the foundations were carried a level of between 7 cm. high, and this in turn supported the marble plaques of the central floor, which were 5-6 cm. thick. Thus the plinths of the columns originally rose from 15 to 21 cm. above the marble pavement. The base blocks, from the base level to the plinth, stood on a solid and even, presumably reserved with marble plaques. The blocks are 25 times smaller than the plinths they carry, at other times slightly larger; when a block is 25 times smaller than the plinth, the plinth, rough masonry fills the gap. The situation is clearer in the West transept, where it also existed that the marble pavement extends from the intercolumniation into the central nave as well as into the ambulatory; thus it is clear that both these areas were fully paved.

The rounda rests on 16 base columns, 6.60 m. high and set in a perfect circle, 3.60-3.65 m.

<sup>1</sup> Valadier and Sestini, *op. cit.*, p. 132, fig. 108. Valadier's plan, unfortunately, was not to scale (see also fig. 108, a, b).

<sup>2</sup> Altieri and Riccardini, *op. cit.*, p. 132, fig. 108. Valadier's plan, unfortunately, was not to scale (see also fig. 108, a, b).

<sup>3</sup> Soprintendenza ai Monumenti del Lazio, 1933, p. 132, fig. 108.

the original shafts and the capitals used the distance oval to 2.00 m. (pl. XII, XIV, figs. 166, 167). The approximately 1200 m. base of the ambulatory, some of them are classical shafts while others, from the fragment of the wall, seem to be of Early Christian date. The shafts are all monolithic and of great size, but they vary in length between 0.75 m. and 0.70 m. and proportionate in diam.



Fig. 166. S. Stefanos Rotunda, West Façade. Fig. 167. S. Stefanos Rotunda, North Façade. Fig. 168. S. Stefanos Rotunda, East Façade. Fig. 169. S. Stefanos Rotunda, East Façade. Fig. 170. S. Stefanos Rotunda, East Façade. Fig. 171. S. Stefanos Rotunda, East Façade.

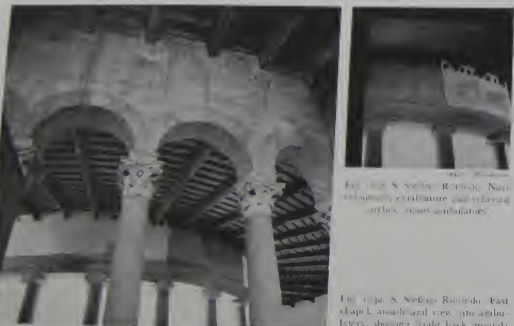


Fig. 172. S. Stefanos Rotunda, East Façade. Fig. 173. S. Stefanos Rotunda, East Façade.

Fig. 174. S. Stefanos Rotunda, East Façade. Fig. 175. S. Stefanos Rotunda, East Façade.

0.60 m. (Fig. 174) to 0.65 m. (the diameter shaft has a base circumference of 0.22 m., the thickest, 2.55 m.). The lower capitals are 2 meters high, having approximately identical abaci, scotia and cushions; the upper capital is specially adapted to the neck so as to fit the diameter of the shaft which supports it (Fig. 175 a, b, c). Hence the capitals were made for the present shafts and probably for their present location. Although robust and severe, the character of the sculpture is unsophisticated

and reveals the style of a 5th-century architect (see also the drawing on page 190). By way of minute observation some of the capitals have bell-shaped necks while others are cylindrical; some are gridded with rope moulding at the base of the column while others are not. The local diameters of the shafts shows many variations. The ornate carved cylindrical capital mouldings, each intercolumniation is spanned by a heavy, ivy-leaf motif, carved in place and decorated on both sides with an abutment, frieze and cornice moldings, which are uniform throughout the edifice. The annular entablature, with the help of semi-circular relieving arches (Fig. 168), supports the drum of the rotunda, a cylindrical brick wall (0.86 m. = 2.82 ft.) thick and about 3.5 m. (11 ft. 6 in.) high; some of the relieving arches are visible from the ambulatory, having been discovered in 1967. The brickwork of the rotunda wall is laid in horizontal courses with thick mortar beds giving a modulus of only 3 courses, or occasionally 4½ per R. U.

At a height of 0.40 m. (1.31 R. U.) above the floor, the brick cylinder is pierced by 70 irregularly spaced round-headed clerestory windows, 1.65 m. (5½ R. U.) wide and spaced about 0.40 m. (1.31 R. U.) apart (pl. XIII, figs. 169, 170, 165, 166). Each window is spanned by a semi-circular arch of radially set brick voussoirs 0.44 m. long. The diameter of the arch is 1.36 m. making a total thickness of 10 cm. at the top of each window jamb. At the level of the arch springings, the cylindrical wall is reduced in the keels from 0.85 to 0.70 m. by an unlined ledge which passes horizontally around the inner face of the rotunda wall. Of the 22 original window openings 10 have been blocked with brickwork of uncertain date, those remaining open are finished with a marble mosaic of twin round-headed motifs surmounted by a circle, and mosaic date from the period of Nicholas XI<sup>4</sup>. The original window sill level is visible on the inside; outside it is masked by the ashle used which is evidently a little higher now than was originally intended. Externally, the brickwork of the cylindrical clerestory is perforated by numerous scallard holes arranged in approximately horizontal rows (figs. 165, 166). The lowest are in the piers between the windows; 1.70 m. higher up a course of holes corresponds with the upper part of the window arches, and 1.50 m. above them follows another course. The scallard holes in these three courses are about 1 cm. square. However, after rising for another 1.50 m., the wall is perforated with a course of small round holes such as we often note in Carolingian masonry in Rome, and about 0.60 m. higher up there is another course of the same small holes. Finally, near the top of the wall, we find a course of large square holes which we take to date from the twelfth century, 0.30 m. further up the cylindrical wall terminates in a typical Romanesque cornice of saw-tooth brickwork and white marble moldings. The original wall thus survives to a height of roughly 21 meters.

At a level of 1.70 m. above the apex of the clerestory windows, the wall is pierced by two terracotta tubes, about 10 cm. in diameter and surrounded by a star of radially set bricks (Fig. 166). They are diametrically opposed to each other in the northeast and southwest sectors of the rotunda.

<sup>4</sup> The openings window patterns are some of those surviving in the famous western model and dated about 1060. See, for example, pp. 215, and pl. XIII.



Fig. 162. S. Stefano Rotondo. Elevation of nave showing brick pilasters and arches.



Fig. 163. S. Stefano Rotondo. Interior of dome from north.

of the masonry and in the upper part is perforated by five large round-headed openings, the outside one being and two higher up than the pair to each side; the masonry cannot be examined as it is coated with plaster. Above the fifteenth century ceiling, the present conical tiled roof rests on a level frame erected in 1950 to replace the fifteenth century timber beams, which had decayed.

A view from the interior of the dome of the church of San Stefano, S. S. Stefano a Rotondo, the Via Labicana.

The exact purpose is unknown, but it must be observed that the two bays really face due north and south; our use of the terms "east" and "west" for the main axis of the church is, after all, conventional.

The transverse triple arcade which divides the rotunda internally is supported by a pair of antique columns of red granite, surmounted by Corinthian capitals and placed between T-shaped brick end piers which likewise are capped by antique Corinthian capitals, square in plan (pl. XIII, fig. 160). Each end pier envelops one Ionic column of the rotunda colonnade and has been recently uncovered within the brick piers (fig. 167). The end piers are built of accurately coursed brickwork with a modulus of 5 to 5½ courses per R. h., the mortar beds average 16 mm. in thickness, as is characteristic of masonry work in Rome during the Romanesque period. The Corinthian columns are 10.50 m. high and have grey granite shafts with marble bases and capitals. The wall above the three arches rises to the roof

## 2. The annular aisle

### a) THE COLONNADE

The annular aisle which envelops the central rotunda is 9.70 m. wide and is bounded externally by a second annular colonnade (pls. XII, XIII; figs. 166, 169, 167, 168). While the inner colonnade is unheated and continuous, this outer colonnade is arcaded and subdivided into eight sectors of varying degrees of importance: there are cardinal sectors corresponding with the major and minor axes of the church, and intervening diagonal sectors. Each cardinal sector has four columns and five arches, each diagonal sector has five columns and six arches at a lower level than those of the cardinal sectors; and the right sectors are separated from one another by eight rectangular brick piers, slightly concave on the inner face in conformity with the curvature of the colonnade. Since the side walls of the four radial chapels which extend out from the aisle meet the wall of the aisle at the eight piers, these are T-shaped in plan, the cross bars of the "T" lie in the line of the circular colonnade while the legs constitute part of the chapel walls and are visible from the outside!

### b) FOUNDATIONS AND PAVEMENTS

In 1961 a small test trench was dug against the exterior face of the outer colonnade, exposing the structure of the annular foundation wall in the northwest diagonal sector and under the T-pier which it shares with the west sector. About 1.70 m. below present floor level the masonry foundation wall rests on a footing of cast concrete; this presumably goes down to natural rock, although our excavation was not deep enough for it to be seen. The lower part of the built wall are irregular *opus listatum*; then, after laying a course of large updown tuff blocks



Fig. 165. S. Stefano Rotondo. Elevation of aisle showing arches and columns.



Fig. 168. S. Stefano Rotondo. View of irregularly dressed masonry and foundation under.

\* See below, pls. 167 and 168.





Fig. 106a. S. Stefano Romano. Foundation of central ambulatory (right-hand wing) just right side of I-pier.



Fig. 106b. S. Stefano Romano. Foundation of ambulatory (right-hand wing) and I-pier.



Fig. 106c. S. Stefano Romano. Foundation (part wall of ambulatory, right-hand wing) and I-pier.



Fig. 107. S. Stefano Romano. Section of marble pavement (ambulatory) late in antiquity.



Fig. 111. S. Stefano Romano. South chapel, marble pavement (ambulatory) late in antiquity.



Fig. 112. S. Stefano Romano. Marble mosaic (outer, apsidal pavement).

about 0.16 m. high, the mosaic used brick alone for sixteen courses, with a modulus of 5 courses per R. II. (figs. 109a, b, c). The bricks are small and uneven, the mortar beds are without fluting and the flooring is somewhat undulant. An unexplained anomaly is that, above ground level the brick structure of the I-pier is homogeneous, while the foundations of the colonnade seem to have been built at first as a plain circle, without provision for the leg of the "T" (figs. 109 d, e). Moreover the annular stylobate wall was built mainly of coursed brickwork, while the foundation of the spur is composed of coarse lumps of tufa set in cement or possibly cast as concrete into an excavated trench. To judge by the single specimen excavated, it would seem that the ra-

diagonal walls were added as an afterthought to a plan which was originally intended to be purely circular. Nevertheless, as the superstructure brickwork in the legs and heads of the T-shaped pier is perfectly integral, the change of plan was certainly made at a very early stage.

As reported above<sup>1</sup>, the original marble pavement has been found 27 cm. below the later, presumably sixteenth century pavement. It has been traced in the intercolumniation of the main colonnade from where it extends both into the central area and the annular aisle. A second pavement, presumably medieval, was found at a higher level, only 10 cm. above the original one. Finally, probably in the sixteenth century, the older pavements were removed and a concrete pavement was placed on earth fill, flush with the column piers.

Likewise, in the circuit of the outer colonnade the remains of early, probably original, pavements are preserved, covered by the later walls which seal up the intercolumniations. In the west part of the south sector, 0.20 m. below present floor level, the early pavement consists of rectangular slabs of white marble about 3 cm. thick (pl. XII, figs. 170, 171), while, near the middle of the south east diagonal sector, at approximately the same level, the pavement is composed of very large white marble tesserae (fig. 172). We might at this point anticipate as well that the coloring of the outer colonnade, like those of the main colonnade, rest on travertine floorblocks of different height and thus rise from varying levels above the original pavement.

Following the circuit of the outer colonnade we note the features of each sector in turn. In general the exterior face of the colonnade, much of which is exposed, is more informative than the interior because the latter is almost entirely coated with plaster and paintings.

### 3. The outer sectors

#### a) THE EAST CHAPEL

We briefly start with the east chapel but will return to it at length (pl. XII, XIII) (figs. 109, 150, 184, 185, 186). The four columns of the east sector still constitute the entrance to the only surviving radial chapel, consequently the two central column shafts are free-standing, while the outer pair is only partly enveloped in the masonry of the lateral sacristies (fig. 187a). The columns are Corinthian, with fluted grey granite shafts and marble bases and capitals, and are surmounted by impost blocks of marble decorated with crosses in relief on their front and rear faces. The leaves of the capitals are strongly modeled in high relief but the foliage is without serration (fig. 173). The height of the columns from the floor to the top of the pinnac is 6.65 m. (22 1/2 R. II.). The five semicircular arches which rise from the pinnacis are neatly constructed of radially set squarish piers. The south or right brick pier of the east sector is 1.96 m. wide at the base but is reduced to 1.66 m. by a setback in its left face 3 m. above floor level. At a height of 6.65 m. above floor level the flank of the pier runs into the masonry of the east sector arch without a set back. On the other side of the pier the masonry of the front arch of the southeast diagonal sector is set back a few centimeters behind the right hand jamb of the pier, 3.96 m. above floor level; this jamb is vertical from the floor to the springing of the archivolts, as are the sides of all the other piers between the eight sectors of the outer colonnade.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 220.

### 3) The roofbeam as pier

The *sculptura* of several sectors communicates with the *ambulatory* aisle through five front columns and six *arcades*. The first two tiers of columns are 1.30 m and form the entrance to the *ambulatory* which consists of Saints Stephen and Paul, while the other four arcways are sealed with blocking which mistake to be Romanesque. A mosaic pavement of large tesserae occupies those the *ambulatory* (over the area of the *arcades*) fig. 172. The granite column shafts, 1.10 to 1.15 m in height were apparently found to be too short, and to raise them to the required level, travertine base blocks 40 to 47 cm high were inserted beneath each base which



Fig. 168. S. Stefano Rotondo. Corinthian capital of 11th chapel.



Fig. 172. S. Stefano Rotondo. Capital and mosaic blocks (ambulatory) north side.



Fig. 174. S. Stefano Rotondo. Capital and mosaic blocks (ambulatory) south side.

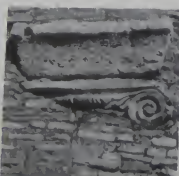


Fig. 176. S. Stefano Rotondo. Capital and mosaic blocks (ambulatory) south side.

the *arcade*. The arches are built of radially set brick voussoirs which interleave at the springing. Plug holes for securing the revetment are found in the exterior face of the *Tympan*, archivolts and spandrels (fig. 175a) as far up as, but not beyond, the horizontal scar of a band of concrete, lightened with hollow terracotta tubes (figs. 176, 177, 179). The band of tubes is 0.50 m high, and its base lies 2.20 m above the impost of the *arcade* and about 0.28 m above the extrados of the archivolts. It appears to be a horizontal channel formed in the brick-faced wall by the omission of six or seven brick courses; the channel was then filled with concrete into which small upright vase-shaped tubes, ranged close together in vertical lines, were inserted. At the south end of the sector the band turns at right angles and continues at the same level and without any visible curve in the leg of



Fig. 170. S. Stefano Rotondo. South wall.



Fig. 171. S. Stefano Rotondo. West wall.



Fig. 172. S. Stefano Rotondo. Mosaic pavement.



Fig. 173. S. Stefano Rotondo. West wall.



Fig. 174. S. Stefano Rotondo. Capital and mosaic blocks.



Fig. 175. S. Stefano Rotondo. Detail of wall.



Fig. 176. S. Stefano Rotondo. North wall.



Fig. 177. S. Stefano Rotondo. North wall.



Fig. 178. S. Stefano Rotondo. West wall.



Fig. 177. S. Stepha. Rotunda. Southwest sector, section showing lower and upper tubular masonry wall (upper formed with tubular masonry).

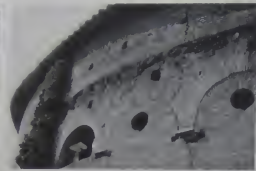


Fig. 177. S. Stepha. Rotunda. Southwest sector, section showing tubular and T-pier masonry (upper formed with tubular masonry).



Fig. 178. S. Stepha. Rotunda. Arrangement of brick (upper) and T-pier masonry (lower).

See Plate 2, 211.

the T-pier until the masonry is broken off (Fig. 177). Presumably it does the same at the east end of the sector, but here it is concealed by the roof and vaulting of the chapel of Saints Stephen and Paul. The purpose of the tubular construction is problematical; it indicates that a feature of light weight was attached in the wall at this level, but the form of this feature is far from certain.<sup>1</sup> Above the tubular band the annular wall rises almost to the eaves of the aisle roof in neatly laid brickwork with the usual modulus of 1 to 1½ courses per R. H. In this zone there are no signs of marble attachments, but 0.20 m. above the tube band a horizontal row of rectangular holes appears in the brick wall face. The holes are spaced approximately 1 m. apart, and the smallest are formed within a single brick course merely by setting two bricks further apart than usual, others have probably been eluded by the attachment of later scaffolding.

#### THE SOUTH SECTOR

The arching of the south sector is slightly higher than that of the southeast sector but considerably lower than that of the east sector; indeed, its archivolts spring approximately 5.60 m. above the present floor as compared with 5.26

to 6.00 m. for the southeast sector. Like the other western sector, however, the south sector has two radiating buttresses (Fig. 179) which, like the southeast sector, are not actually attached to the main wall but are attached to the *affriche* in a flat zone (p. 311). The archivolts of these are made with a modulus of 1½ courses per R. H. The two T-piers, which define the main aisle, externally buttress the main wall (consisting of vertical filigree, the modulus being 1 to 1½ courses per R. H.). On both the right and left faces of the T-piers the springing of a segmental arch is visible, the arch apparently attached, not to the vertical face of the filigree, but, as indicated by a sketch (Fig. 179), to the vertical face of the T-pier itself. Occasional facing plugs show that the T-piers were finished with marble facing up to the level of the archivolts above that level the south sector had its finished marble facing through the pier of the T-pier which buttress the adjacent piers, the marble facing being of marble (plaster to a height level than 17.50). Instead of marble facing, the filigree of the south sector, according to the criteria fixed by the architectural and the epigraphic evidence, was finished in stucco. A small quantity of the stucco remains visible on the outside face of the pier of wall in the closing fragments of the second century building which outline the pavement of the aisle and which, in two of the arches (Fig. 179), are still in place. The horizontal faces of the stucco, with, however, in the diagonal sector, four not distinct lines. Of the two courses of the stucco above the middle pair have fluted stucco, while the lateral pair are smooth, all three appear to be for bracket attachment as described before, and all flanged faces appear to be smooth, except the block, or possibly the later without corner. A pattern of smooth stucco, rather than the stucco previously seen in the southeast sector, projects from the underside of the marble pier (Fig. 179) the pier's face (Fig. 179). Again, the columns are placed on three blocks of masonry, but in one of the columns the foundation wall and base, the volume (above base 1.10 m. high) is on a level above the common pavement level.

#### THE SOUTHWEST SECTOR

The southwest sector resembles the southeast sector in opening into the aisle only, but is provided by five graniticuted Ionic columns with Corinthian capitals, the archivolts, in fact, are 0.20 m. lower than the arcade of the southeast. Again, in comparison to the southeast, instead of the shafts, the columns here are cut in top of small, thin blocks which presumably were originally hidden by marble capstones. Unlike the southeast sector, the marble face of the T-piers are not pitted with mortice holes for marble attachment, but the blind faces show, on the face of the archivolts, at any rate, that it was of the face that is visible. Indeed, the upper surface of the openings of this sector (Fig. 179). The external wall face above the archivolts is covered by a band of tubular masonry (upper archivolts above it, on the same level as before, we find a horizontal row of holes in the brickwork, these are spaced in half a meter apart, and are rather larger than the ones previously described. At the west end the brickwork band turns and follows the projecting T-pier but, and it does not continue on the curved sector. No doubt it formerly did likewise at the south end, but the pier has now been cut away below the work in question. Like its imaginary at the north end of the sector, the western T-pier also shows the springing of a segmental arch, 6.40 m. above ground level and corresponding the upper ending of a lintel, and while the north face of the pier being flat springing is flat to the base, the south

<sup>1</sup> See Plate 2, 211, 212.



Fig. 179. S. Simeon, Romano. West Romanesque arcade of south-east transept. Capital and portion of arch of right pier. Romanesque style.



Fig. 180. S. Simeon, Romano. West chapel, arches with stucco moldings.

T-pier brickwork on both sides of the cardinal sector displays symmetrically arranged plug holes (figs. 175*a*, 176).

While the four lateral archways of the west sector are blocked with Romanesque walls following the curve of the colonnade, the central opening is closed by a small brick apse which is probably also of Romanesque date (pl. XII; figs. 161, 170).

off above flag level at a point which leaves no doubt that the T-pier at that height continued as a wall, carried on as belonging to the segmental arch (figs. 175*a*, 176, 179).

In the garden, about 4 m. southwest of the central column of this sector, the extrados of a subterranean vault is found a few centimeters below ground level, that is, some 10 cm. below the floor level of the church. It has not been excavated and is full of earth which has entered through a fissure in the summit of the vault, but it appears to be the remains of an underground cistern.

#### 2. THE WEST SECTOR

Continuing around the annular colonnade, in the west sector four columns and five arches are disposed symmetrically about the principal axis of the church (fig. 179). The height of the impost level above the floor, 6.55 m., does not quite equal that of the east sector, 6.65 m., but, whereas the latter has unduted granite shafts and unornamented acanthus capitals, the four western columns are an antique set with fluted shafts of white marble and richly decorated matching capitals and bases. The marble pulvis above the capitals are decorated inside and out with embossed crosses. Like most of the openings in the outer colonnade, the two lateral archways on each side of the central one in the west sector are sealed with Romanesque masonry and in this way the ornament of the intrados has been preserved; it is stucco, like that of the south sector, decorated at the edge of the archivolt with a molded corona (fig. 180). Above, traces of the smooth stucco wall revetment continue up almost to the eaves of the present arched roof (fig. 171). Since this part of the wall face was revetted with stucco, no mortar holes for marble are to be expected, and none exist above the level of the impost. Below that level, on the other hand, the external face of the

#### 3. THE INTERIOR ARCHES

The main sequence, the middle or second, circumferentially the two other diagonal sectors closely associated, is here shown clearly from within the wall in entering from the side, just outside the apse opening at a level considerably below the center of the main arched wall (figs. 181, 182). The north sector (fig. 181) shows the opening of the monumental gallery of the northwestern colonnade.

The slabs are set with their top of the archway in the plane of the wall with diagonal tracery whereas all other arches are of perpendicular arc of perpendicular. They indicate that the T-pier were retained on the inside with marble from the floor to the impost of the arches, but there is no trace of marble in the impost of the arcade. The shafts (except basal) and the row of sockets in the impost, above are in all respects, exactly as described by the other diagonal sectors. The postcolonnade are blocked with heavy walls, generally Romanesque. At a comparatively recent period the shafts seem to have been protected by building out the embayment Romanesque masonry, (working externally so that the formal wall face was not touched), and rendering the arches, probably in order to conceal certain imperfections by turning them outward (fig. 180). In the process the base blocks of the two westernmost columns were removed, and these were



Fig. 181. S. Simeon, Romano. Interior, north sector.

now found abnormally low. The remaining filling walls were retained in inside masonry which might date from the time of Nicholas V. Recently most of these original junction have been removed and the diagonal original faces have appeared, a characteristic evidence, however, which appears on one of the shafts seem originally have been turned toward the interior.

#### 4. THE SOUTH SECTOR

Externally the north sector is partly hidden by a wing of the exterior, although in side-entrance and the two in the west are visible from the garden (fig. 182), and all five archways are generally (fig. 182). Only the western T-pier is visible from the garden, the central opening of a monumental arch with a new face below and a broken projecting roof above. It has a narrow ledge for marble revetment on its southern face, but there are none in the quadrant of the arcade. The four side units are of grey marble and equal in height those of the north sector. Their Ionic capitals are a little more elaborately decorated than those of the diagonal sectors but were likely to exist from the same workshop; they support inside impost blocks without corolla (fig. 179). The four side-vaults are all of equal height, differing in this respect from the north sector. No certain building survives, but the impost and the wall above are faced with large areas of plaster which may be ancient, as the wall is done not extend across the Romanesque filling walls and therefore seems likely to be rather than there (fig. 182).



Fig. 172. S. Stefano, Romano. Una vista dall'esterno della chiesa e della cripta.

walls, 65 cm thick, are slightly curved in plan to conform with the curvature of the colonnade and are finished with the outer wall face of the arcades; the columns, the piers and the outline of the arches thus appear internally as shallow niches. For the illumination of the annular aisle small fenestral windows were left in the lunette of each blocked arch, framed by small bricks, as was customary in Romanesque construction in Rome (figs. 169, 176, 177, 178, 179). A few of the lunettes were subsequently widened to create larger semicircular windows. At the center of the west sector, as already stated, the axial intercolumniation is closed by an apical esvadra. This is built of plain brickwork in a modulus of 5 courses per R. L., with very large square scaffold holes and a saw-tooth cornice; all features which indicate the Romanesque period. Where the apse meets the filling walls of the adjacent arcades it is clear that it is later than the checkerboard masonry, but

#### A) THE NORTHEAST SECTOR

Essentially, the northeast diagonal sector comprises the usual five gentle columns and six arches, but in this instance the shafts are long enough to dispense with base blocks (figs. 168, 178). Two columns are hidden inside the marble work of the twin doorways which were erected by Nicholas V in 1453 at the south end of his vestibule<sup>1</sup>. Three of the arches retain the original marble revetment of the intrados, held in position by the later filling of the archways; and, since the marble plates protrude 4 or 5 cm. internally beyond the vertical wall face, they prove that the vertical interior spandrels of the annular arcade were also originally revetted with marble plating.

#### B) THE BLOCKING WALLS

In the majority of cases the walls which block the intercolumniations of the outer colonnade are built in coursed brickwork (figs. 177, 189, 181); but occasionally the brickwork is interspersed with blocks of tufa and other material arranged in a checkerboard pattern (figs. 176, 178, 179). The

found one or more layers (fig. 178). Filling walls which served Romanesque arcades in the northeast sector flank the central courtyard and we presume that these four intercolumniations were probably rebuilt or, at any rate, refaced in the time of Nicholas V. Another exception is seen in the two middle arches of the southwest sector. Here the blocking is brought in plan and built of very small irregular bricks mixed with fragments of marble in a course modulus of 6 courses per R. L. with raked, unpainted mortar beds. Their date is unknown but it is probably late, since the paintings of the interior are not Pomarancio's, but seem by their style more likely to date from the thirteenth century.

#### 4. The east chapel

Of the four chapels which are laid from the annular aisle on the cross axes of the circular building, only the east chapel remains. It was defined in size by partitioning off chambers to either side, but the basic structure is easily distinguishable from that which has been added. The three central arches of the east sector of the outer semicircular colonnade will open into the chapel, while the outer intercolumniations to right and left are blocked by the red brick of the two chambers on either side (pl. XII; figs. 184, 185 a). The original lateral walls of the chapel are best illustrated in these two side chambers (figs. 185, 185 a) see also pl. XIII.

Instead of being set at right angles to the annular colonnade (i. e., exactly with respect to the circular plan of the church), the chapel side walls are slightly rotated towards the east, thus effecting a sort of compromise in plan between parallel sides and the normal semicircular shape that would result if the walls had been set out as one radii. The effect of this distortion seems to have been to make the chapel look slightly deeper than it really is. Indeed, the bottom of the lower part of the south wall remains exactly as drawn by Vasidori (fig. 185) while the

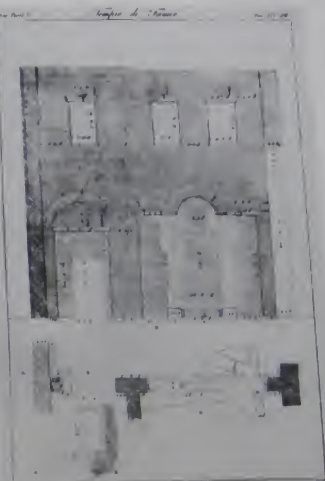


Fig. 185. S. Stefano, Romano. Capella. Dimensioni, andamento laterale, profilo di una parete laterale, sezione trasversale della cappella e della cripta.

upper level is indicated by planes. There were openings for several levels, but the only opening through the door, shown thus as the previous wall of the exterior, to the right, thus later causing an irregular opening in the masonry. The latter wall is an archway flanked by two round openings with the upper level horizontal. In comparison with the latter, the lower opening is a low vaulted opening with Renaissance features and the side



Fig. 179. A. Santa Rosa, Mexico. South wall of east chapel. (1) central archway, (2) round openings on either side, and (3) upper impression of north wall.



Fig. 180. A. Santa Rosa, Mexico. South wall of west chapel. (1) central archway, (2) round openings on either side.

mass on which the arch formerly rested have been removed, for these structures have blocks and planes. The slender joints strengthened by shallow brick-relieving arches are 4/8 in. above floor level and the overall breadth of the triple opening is 5.44 m. The right-hand brick bands on which one of the timber beams rests in the leg of the T-pier in the summit colonnade, and in addition that it corresponds to the T-pier in the east, including the segmental arches which spring from them (figs. 181, 182). The original doorway in the left part of the wall is 2.10 m. wide and 2.02 m. high, and is spanned by a timber beam 5.05 m. long and supported by a semi-circular relieving arch of gaspaldán. In the upper story of this wall Valadier noted three vaulted-up windows, one over the doorway and two over the triple arch, all of nearly the same height, 2.80 m., though different in width, varying from 1.08 m. to 1.50 m. As with the other opening, the window heads were spanned by segmental brick-relieving arches. The masonry of the original wall resembles that already noted in the T-pier of the outer colonnade, with horizontal coloring in a modulus of about 1/2 courses per R. in, and an occasional tendency to use *ngallo* in place of bricks. In pointing the horizontal mortar beds the bricklayer held his trowel at an angle so that the mortar face overhung slightly, and a few millimeters of the upper surface of each brick is exposed. The northern side wall of the chapel has the same features. The triple opening in the

west chapel has similar arches and the openings, including the doorway, were never repaired in Mexico's history, by the removal of plaster covering the masonry, which blocks up the original openings but the characteristic color and pointing of the Renaissance period. The three windows in the upper story of the north wall had hidden beams, the flat decoration of a capital channel being from the apex of the dome. It is not the type of window, but their location, the same as in the dome, showed over the course of Valadier's lifetime (fig. 183). The location in Valadier's drawing of the north wall (fig. 183) indicates an original position, opening a window in the doorway, while the other two are the same, including their corresponding positions with the dome, each of the three arches. "With the construction of the upper story in part of the same in



Fig. 181. A. Santa Rosa, Mexico. South wall of west chapel, showing doorway and east chapel with right-hand window pier.



Fig. 182. A. Santa Rosa, Mexico. South wall of west chapel, showing round openings and right-hand pier.

east, centered in the south wall, at ground level, the pier which divides the doorway from the triple opening is built of gaspaldán up to a height of 0.44 m. above floor level.

The east wall of the chapel, since it is a support of the dome, presents a wall of the character varied in plan, it is only as thick and consistent with the same structure and the masonry. Inside the chapel is illuminated by a round-headed window with a diamond-shaped tracery placed high up, at the center of the east wall, while the other windows are in the left part of the partitioned chamber on the right side of the entrance chapel above the doorway in the left part (fig. 184), figs. 185, 186). These three windows opening, replace three windows which, working together with the three windows in each of the side walls, evidently constituted the original illumination of the relief chapel. The square round opening in the east wall was round-headed, while the two flanking windows were circular. From the outside they were more or less comparable although filled in with different masonry. In the construction of the dome, the overhanging brickwork of the side walls is supported by two low cylindrical under-piers, while the top part is supported by masonry vaulted frames that extend up several beyond the final vault of the lateral dome. These under-frames, vaulted and framed with masonry of the bricks which above each round frame a large cross-shaped brick vault is built and the horizontal coloring of the brickwork. To the right of one of the masonry windows, a small brick relieving arch, about 0.50 m. in diameter, is inserted by using masonry piers in the external wall face.

At ground level directly beneath the cross-shaped window, a small apse opening the east wall of the east chapel (fig. 186). It is 3.56 m. wide internally and 1.15 m. high from the pavement to the apex of the vault. The vault is decorated with a mosaic representing Saints Primitus and Felicianus standing on either side of a cross opening to the springing ribs; the mosaic inscription of Pope Theodorus "42-46". The apse wall is plastered inside and out, but the removal of a panel of the main perimeter wall, not bonded to the main wall, only 0.50 m. thick and thus thinner than the latter, the apse is built of rather irregular brickwork constructed in a modulus of 3 courses per R. It is interspersed with occasional courses of *opus testaceum* (fig. 187). It is not certain whether this apse takes the place of an earlier doorway or whether the original wall had to be broken through when the apse was built, but the latter alternative seems more probable since there were other doors quite close to the site of the apse.

### 5. The perimeter wall

The east wall of the radial chapel is part of the circular perimeter wall which originally continued right around the church and which still exists almost intact in its lower portions. But while the part of the perimeter wall which coincides with the rear wall of the chapel rises 11 m. above the present floor, the parts which skirt the diagonal sectors of the circular plan are much lower,



Fig. 186. San Stefano Rotondo. Exterior wall of east chapel, with small apse opening at southeast corner, at level 122.25.



Fig. 187. San Stefano Rotondo. East wall of east chapel, right-hand and perimeter wall of southeast diagonal sector, separated by vertical line.

ascending only 6 to 10 m. high. Accordingly, a perpendicular axis is seen externally at the point where the south wall of the chapel intersects the perimeter wall and rises above the perimeter wall of the adjoining southeast diagonal sector (fig. 188). The wall has been heightened in the construction of the chapel of Saints Stephen and Paul, but the original elevation is distinguishable by variations in the texture of the brickwork. The original southeast corner of the east chapel is marked by a

<sup>1</sup> See also the Epistle of the Roman Pontiff, 1871, in *Il Museo Cristiano*, fasc. 1, 20.

perpendicular axis in the masonry (fig. 189) at the top of the main pier, which communicates the interior of the perimeter wall to the diagonal sector 10.50 m. above floor level. At the southeast corner, the side of the east chapel is defined externally by a frontal arch rising vertically in the space from a point on the perimeter wall at the same level, the 1890, from the floor level of the apse, it obtained by a large hole in the original masonry. The brickwork to the right of the arch, and in an arched window with a course about 2 m. below the sill, are Romanesque and probably represent



Fig. 188. San Stefano Rotondo. East chapel, southeast corner, marked by arch, at level 122.25.



Fig. 189. San Stefano Rotondo. Perimeter wall, southeast corner, at level 122.25.

the lower story of a former campanile. The remains of another structure of the campanile are discernible internally in a wall which stands at right angles to the window seen here.

Returning to the south side of the east chapel and following the circuit of the perimeter wall to the left, we note the various features in succession. The original summit of the wall in the southeast diagonal sector, coincident with the base of the perpendicular axis (fig. 188) is marked by a particularly thick horizontal mortar joint. Above follow about ten courses of brickwork and unlike the original wall but more undulant and apparently set in weaker mortar which, in time retreating, has caused the coursing to be more accentuated. The zone terminates in an uneven line, and above it rises the eighteenth century brickwork of the chapel of Saints Stephen and Paul. At a distance 1.60 m. south of the side wall of the east chapel, the perimeter wall is pierced by a doorway, 3.05 m. wide and 3.92 m. high; it is unmistakably a feature of the original building. The opening is spanned by a horizontal timber lintel 0.18 m. thick and surmounted by a semi-circular relieving arch, in the tympanum of which an ornamental cross is executed in brickwork (figs. 190, 196). The doorway is sealed with masonry which includes numerous fragments of wrought marble and brickwork toolled in the *opus testaceum* pattern characteristic of the Romanesque period. Subsequently, a narrower doorway or window, with a segmental arch was broken through the Romanesque masonry and then walled up again in turn (fig. 190). Continuing to the northwest, inside the garden which is bounded to the right by the circular perimeter wall and to the left by the walled-up outer annular colonnade, 13 m. from the doorway just described, the perimeter wall contains the remains of a second blocked doorway. It is the same width as the first and presumably originally had the same height, though the wall no longer stands high enough for the lintel to be preserved. The distance that intervenes between the doorway and the north-south cross axis of the rotunda is the same as that which separates the first doorway from the east-west axis. Hence, the two doorways are symmetrically disposed in the southeast quadrant of the circular

plan (pl. XII). Nevertheless, although the second doorway corresponds with the first one in size and location, the masonry which blocks it is quite different. In the first doorway, the *faba costis* blocking indicates that the opening remained in use for many centuries before being closed. On the other hand, the blocking of the second doorway is very similar to the brickwork of the perimeter wall itself, hence this doorway became disused at an early period, or possibly it was never used at all, and was sealed up while the church was still in course of construction. The blocking wall is thinner than the perimeter wall, so that the embrasure of the doorway now forms a shallow niche on the inner face.

The curved perimeter wall in which the two doorways stand is based on concrete foundations composed of large lumps of unburnt red tufa mixed with occasional fragments of marble or travertine. The surface of this foundation material lies less than 0.20 m. beneath the level of the mosaic pavement, which is visible at the base of the outer annular colonnade on the opposite side of the garden (fig. 173). Above the concrete a single footing course of brick projects a few centimetres in front of the regular wall face, internally the footings must have lain directly beneath the paving material. Above rises the brick-faced perimeter wall, 0.80 m. thick, with a modulus varying from 3 to 5 courses per R. It is pointed, as noted before, with oblique overhanging trowel strokes. Except for the portion of wall which is incorporated in the rear wall of the chapel of Saints Stephen and Paul, the early masonry of the southeast sector of the perimeter uses only 1.5 m. above the foundations; the upper part of the wall is modern. In the surviving zone of original masonry there is no sign that the wall was formerly plated with marble as were the T-piers and spandrels of the annular arcade opposite.

At a distance of 1.52 m. west of the second blocked doorway, the inner face of the perimeter wall shows the scar of a cross wall, 0.80 m. thick, which formerly joined it more or less at right angles. The wall stands directly opposite the leg of the T-pier in the outer annular colonnade which defines the east side of the south cardinal sector. It is clear that these are the two extremities of the east wall of the former south radial chapel. The shallow segmental relieving arch contained in the T-pier (figs. 177, 178) and the seating of what must have been a timber luteal leave no doubt that these features spanned one of the narrow openings of a triple arch similar to the ones which still exist in the east chapel (fig. 183). Moreover, the ragged break higher up on the T-pier makes it clear that an upper wall has broken away; presumably it was pierced by rectangular windows like those in the east chapel. The west side of the south chapel is represented in precisely the same way as the east side, by the projecting leg of the T-pier and a scar in the perimeter wall where the other end of the side wall was formerly attached; this latter, however, is barely visible at the base of the wall, which has been rebuilt in its upper part. The distance between the two side walls was, 0.20 m. measured on the chord, or less than it would be if the side walls had been truly radial with regard to the circular plan of the church; apparently as in the east chapel, the south chapel walls were curved toward the axis to give the illusion of greater depth. Although it is broken down to a low level, the sector of the perimeter wall which constituted the south or rear wall of the south chapel is traversable throughout its whole length and allows us to establish with complete certainty that there was never any doorway or apse. On the other hand, peg holes still filled with marble plugs and the remains of metal cramps indicate an internal marble revetment at least 0.35 m. high on this sector of the concave wall face (fig. 173b).

In the southwest diagonal sector of the perimeter, the original brickwork is seen for a height of about 1.5 m. above ground level in the garden, since the soil lies some 0.25 m. below the church floor level. There is no sign of marble revetment. As in the southeast sector, the perimeter wall was pierced by two doorways, each about 3 m. wide and 4.80 m. distant from the scars of the side walls of the vanished radial chapels which bounded the sector to east and north. Both jambs sur-

vive in the more southerly of the two openings, while in the other doorway the northern jamb is lost. The masonry which seals the south doorway is thinner than the perimeter wall, creating a shallow recess; that of the other opening is equal in thickness with the perimeter wall. While the modulus of the perimeter wall is 3 courses per R. the blocking wall of the south opening is finer and more irregular, reaching a modulus of 6 courses in one place. The date when these doorways were blocked remains uncertain, but the style of the brickwork and mortar suggest Early Christian construction. Midway between the doorways the original brick face of the perimeter wall, which survives in general at the base, has been destroyed for a short space, leaving a ragged hole 6.80 m. wide. Above the low zone of original masonry the curved wall of the southwest sector has been rebuilt at a row of shallow rectangular niches, each niche about 1.5 m. wide and 0.30 m. deep. Constructed in brickwork which seems to belong to the fifteenth century or later, this element should probably be considered in conjunction with the features facing it in the walled-up outer colonnade where, it will be remembered, plaster revetment covers both the original masonry and the Renaissance blocking walls<sup>1</sup>, while the brickwork which seals the middle pair of arches is belatedly modern. Taken together, these facts lead us to conjecture that, in the Renaissance or Baroque period, a complex was formed in this part of the church, bounded externally by the southwest perimeter wall and the niches and entered from the annular aisle through the curved pair of arches of the southwest diagonal sector, which were then open. The two arches may have opened immediately into a side chapel containing some family tomb; indeed, there are in the garden where the chapel would have stood traces of an underground vault such as is often provided for burials. On the other hand, it is also possible that the vault is a relic of an earlier, perhaps original, funeral chapel which we envisage seems to be still depicted in Palladio's plan of Rome of 1671.<sup>2</sup>

As in the south chapel, the side walls of the west chapel are represented at one end by the projecting legs of the T-piers (fig. 179) and, at the opposite end, by traces of their intersection with the perimeter wall. Once again the sides of the chapel are curved to increase the apparent depth of the chamber. In this instance the junction with the perimeter are represented by rectangular brick piers (figs. 176b, 4, f. 197). These are 0.60 m. wide and project 0.41 m. from the concave wall; their faces, worked to be seen, were apparently the jambs of doorways which opened in the chapel side walls close to the perimeter, precisely as in the east chapel (fig. 183). The perimeter wall contained no openings except that, half way between the two arches, the concave wall face is interrupted by a shallow excavation of the brick surface about 1 m. wide, 1.80 m. high and 0.20 m. deep. It



FIG. 183. SOUTHWEST PERIMETER WALL OF THE CHAPEL OF SAINTS STEPHEN AND PAUL. THE WALL WHICH SEALS THE SOUTH DOORWAY.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 280 f.

<sup>2</sup> See below, p. 278.

<sup>3</sup> Palladio, *Le plani di Rom*, Rome, 1644, III, pl. CLXXXV, fig. 20.



is evident a boundary deviation to the original structure, and it might be considered a double, which also became possible on the center line of the church, as it is, it seems to indicate that a small radius of apex was formed at the same time as the west wall of the west chapel. On each side of the niche the carved arch wall is freely sprinkled with plug holes by the attachment of marble masonry (fig. 103) the maximum height of about 1.5 m. (fig. 125, *d, f*).

The southwest quarter of the church (fig. 103) once more shows the usual features of a diagonal sector: the perimeter wall is constructed of the usual brick-work and devoid of marble revetment plug holes, and two doorways, 1.71 m. and 3.15 m. wide, are set at equal distances from the sides of the adjacent radial chapels. Both these openings are walled up with brickwork coursed like the perimeter wall itself, except for the occasional use of a course of *infelix* in place of bricks. The filling walls are recessed to create shallow niches 0.20 m. deep in the internal wall face. At the north side of these two doorways the perimeter wall still stands to a sufficient height for the original timber lined and semi-circular brick relieving arch to be preserved; they are exactly the same as those already noted at the southeast diagonal sector (fig. 106, *g*), but they are visible only from outside because the northern wall face is partly masked by a wash house belonging to the convent and partly destroyed by a secondary doorway through which the garden is now entered (pl. XI; fig. 127). A small trench dug in 1910 to expose the inner foundations of the perimeter wall midway between the two doorways (figs. 192a, *b*), showed that a foundation wall of roughly faced concrete stands forward 0.44 m. in front of the wall face, immediately below the original floor level of the church. This foundation wall rests on a bed of trench-cast concrete at a depth of 0.15 m. below floor level. Almost exactly halfway between the two doorways of the northwest sector the foundation wall is intersected by a channel, 0.42 m. wide, which originally rose from the concrete foundation bed to the level of the church floor, while above that level, the channel is spanned by a small brick relieving arch built into the structure of the perimeter wall (figs. 192a, *b*).

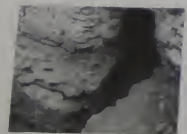


Fig. 125. South Wall of Church, Northwest. Rough surface, with occasional plug holes.

The west wall of the north chapel, which forms the east boundary of the northeast diagonal sector, is hidden by the wash house at the point where it joins the perimeter wall, but it is represented to the south end by the usual T-pier leg in the annular colonnade. The foundations of this wall as they proceed north from the T-piers were excavated by Valadier (fig. 183, lower part) and were again examined by the present writers in 1960. Our trench revealed the foundations of the wall following the usual slightly non-radial alignment peculiar to the side walls of the four radiating chapels at a rough baulk of trench-cast concrete about 0.70 m. wide with its upper surface about 0.33 m. below the original floor level (figs. 193a, *b*). The traces of a column base, which Valadier seems to have seen (fig. 183), have now been destroyed; but at a distance of 5.50 m.

from the north end of the T-pier leg was discovered (fig. 183) coming from the line of the required joint of the triple opening, being some 0.70 m. of the former brick baulk. The concrete baulk passes over an ancient Roman brick wall, noted already by Valadier. The other side of the baulk shows a line plan at right angles to the chapel side wall and from the center of this line a distance of 4.25 m. from the inner face of the perimeter wall and 0.20 m. from the exterior face of the annular colonnade. The thickness of the wall was not ascertainable, but there is no reason to doubt Valadier's accuracy in showing it at a little less than that from the chapel side wall (3.62 m.).

The curved wall is based on trench-cast concrete foundations, 0.83 m. below the original floor level, and is integral with the foundations of the contiguous chapel wall. Rising from this substructure the original fabric of the carved wall, embedded in the flank of the wash house, now stands at least 0.70 m. high, that is 0.17 m. above the former floor level. It extends toward the southwest for a distance of 5.45 m. from its intersection with the chapel side wall; this is a greater distance than Valadier shows. Within this extent one cannot count a modulus of 5 courses per R.  $\frac{1}{2}$ , an unusual value of  $\frac{1}{2}$  as indicated by brick, as was apparently the custom of the builders (fig. 193c). The pattern is executed in that manner as noted elsewhere, with overlapping *Stylos* (small bricks). It is clear that there were no openings at ground level in the 5.45 m. stretch of wall indicated.

Apart from the foundations of the left side wall, which Valadier occasionally shows extending to the north radial chapel it largely coincides within the common building. The right side wall is represented today by the west wall of the courtyard, and (2) in plan, by comparison with the other parts of the symmetrically planned church, that this curvilinear along with an attached north side wall bounds it to the northeast, and the entire contribute of Nicholas V., together to complete the primary

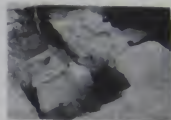


Fig. 126. South Wall of Church, Northwest. Rough surface, with occasional plug holes.



Fig. 127. South Wall of Church, Northwest. Rough surface, with occasional plug holes.



Fig. 128. South Wall of Church, Northwest. Rough surface, with occasional plug holes.



Fig. 129. South Wall of Church, Northwest. Rough surface, with occasional plug holes.

part of the wall (formerly the northeast diagonal sector of the circular building). Of the two original doorways in this quadrant of the perimeter wall, one is presumably hidden inside the conch and the other is still used as the principal entrance to the church, albeit disguised by its fifteenth century frame.

The foundation wall of the curved northeast side of the conch is continuous from the east flank of the former north chapel to the wall of Nicholas V's vestibule. It is concentric with that flank in plan, 0.80 m. thick, 3.10 m. distant from the perimeter wall and 6.20 m. from the annular colonnade (thus it lies on the same circle as the wall which we identified in the west house in the northwest sector). Presumably the wall continues beneath the floor of the fifteenth century vestibule to terminate against the north flank of the east chapel. An excavation in the area of the Renaissance loggia northeast of the conch, undertaken in 1950 by the Soprintendenza ai Monumenti del Lazio, exposed a brick built conduit, 0.43 m. wide and of equal depth, a few centimeters below floor level; it traversed the loggia radially with respect to the circular plan of the church and on the center line of the diagonal sector (fig. 193d). On meeting the perimeter wall the conduit passes through a narrow opening which resembles the opening in the northwest quadrant already described.<sup>2</sup>

#### E. RECONSTRUCTION

In nearly all respects the general outline of the original church can be reconstructed without difficulty. The plan is a series of three concentric circles, and the perimeter wall, 65.80 m. (224 R. ft.) in overall diameter, encloses three zones. The outer zone is 10.60 m. (350 R. ft.) wide and is divided symmetrically into eight sectors, four cardinal and four diagonal. Originally eight entrances were planned to the church, two in each diagonal sector, but several of these openings were walled up at an early stage and some may never have been used at all. The doorways led into curved passages, parallel with the perimeter wall and extending across the diagonal sectors to open, at either end, into the radial chapels which constitute the four cardinal sectors of the outer zone. The four chapels stood much higher than the roofs of the diagonal sectors so that, within its circular perimeter wall, the church was cruciform. The chapels which faced east and west were made to predominate slightly over those to the north and south.

The inner wall of each radial chapel opens in an arcaded colonnade into the second zone of the circular plan, an annular aisle 9.40 m. (32 R. ft.) wide. This aisle surrounds the central zone and is divided from it by a circular colonnade of 22 Ionic columns supporting a trabeated entablature above which rises the cylindrical wall of the central rotunda. The rotunda is 22.5 m. (76 R. ft.) in internal diameter and was approximately the same measurement in height, but the original wall survives only to a height of 21 m. It was illuminated by twenty-two clerestory windows which opened above the annular aisle roof. It has been plausibly suggested that the ledge which encircles the rotunda internally at the level of the springing of the window arches marks the springing level of a dome, made of cane or some other lightweight material, which was originally intended to crown the rotunda and hide the timbers of the roof, but the project never had been executed.<sup>3</sup> The radial chapels — to judge by the one preserved — were illumi-

<sup>2</sup> See figs. 193c, 193d.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 100.

<sup>4</sup> The present plan of this is 1977, conceived as a partial suggestion made by G. G. Agosti. I have examined a note by L. Rossi, 'Studo di un monumento di architettura', in *Atti del convegno di studi sulla domotica romana* (S. Marino [Rome], 1965), p. 62, which is a further suggestion for the arch opening the entrance into a lightweight dome that was originally being envisaged, though perhaps not executed.

nated by cross-hatched and air-blew windows in the perimeter walls. In the upper part of the side walls there were lit by rectangular windows looking out over the roofs of the lower intermediate building of the outer zone. Both the chapels and the annular aisle were timber roofed<sup>4</sup> and the latter received light only through the colonnades which bordered it on both sides.

Thus far the reconstruction presents no difficulty. The problems arise when we consider the four diagonal sectors of the outer zone which lie between the curved entrance passages and the annular aisle, alternating with radial chapels. Each of these sectors is divided into two concentric compartments by the partition wall first noted by Vasileff and seen again in 1960 in the northeast sector, at a distance of 2.50 m. from the inner face of the perimeter wall (figs. XII, XIII; figs. 183, 192 c). There was an outer narrow



Fig. 183. St. Nicholas Basilica, Sofia, exterior (reconstruction, 1963).



Fig. 184. St. Nicholas Basilica, Sofia, exterior (reconstruction, 1963).

compartment, bounded by the perimeter wall on the outside and by the partition wall inside, and a larger inner compartment, 6.20 m. deep and adjoining the annular aisle. The outer compartment was apparently an entrance passage; accessible through the two doors in its perimeter wall, it communicated with the radial chapels through the rectangular doors placed close to the ends of their side walls (fig. 184). The partition wall on the fourth side, toward the inner compartment of the sector, certainly contained no doorway within 5.40 m. of the side wall of the chapels. But of course, there may have been a door in the central part, and in that case, the wall may have been pierced above the preserved level of 0.47 m.<sup>5</sup> by window-like openings, presumably guarded by piers. On the other hand, the internal compartments opened freely through 8 Palladian arches<sup>6</sup> into the chapels at either end and along their inner sides through six arches into the annular aisle. Also peculiar to these inner compartments is the horizontal band of cast-ironed concrete (*trabe ferrea*) which occurs 7.50 m. above floor level in the wall adjoining the annular aisle and on the top of the T-piers where the lateral walls of the radial chapels meet.

Based on this evidence, the outer compartments have always been envisaged as narrow

<sup>5</sup> The arrangement of a door over the window openings in the wall of the Basilica of St. Nicholas in Sofia is shown in fig. 184. Cf. also fig. 184, p. 106, for not drawn.

<sup>6</sup> See above, p. 101.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

forth from which the chapels and the inner compartments were accessible. The outer compartments, on the other hand, were visualized as closed rooms, accessible from the apse and side and, like the Palladian arches<sup>1</sup>, from the chapels, while also communicating with the exterior through a series of openings in the partition wall.<sup>2</sup> The bands of tablini were taken to be the channels of half-bared vaults springing from the partition wall and thus covering the inner compartments in their entire depth (fig. 104). The traces of marble and stucco revetments — the former in the radial chapel, the latter in the inner compartments and their absence in the outer compartments — possibly proposed to scholars seems to support such a reconstruction. While this reconstruction is certainly not to be excluded and perhaps likely (R.K.), an alternative solution (S.C.<sup>2</sup>) also has to be taken into account. In this, the outer diagonal compartments are seen as roofed vestibules while

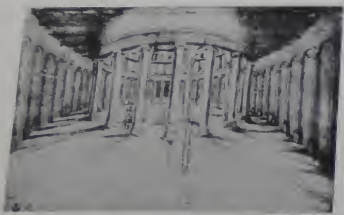


Fig. 104. S. Stefano, Rome. Cross-section, 1910.

Many adjoining the annular aisle and entered through the Palladian arches<sup>3</sup> are envisaged as open corridors (fig. 105). In many ways such an arrangement would be more logical, since the corridors are thus fully utilized for admitting light and air to the inner part of the building. In the other hypothesis, the external passages would have been more useful in this respect had they been open galleries, but we know this was not the case.<sup>4</sup> Two considerations lend some support to the latter theory. First, the strips of tablini are not necessarily the remains of vaulting. In vaulting, such vaults are always used in horizontal layers rather than vertically as at S. Stefano; hence, these bands may well have formed the core of some kind of cornice. In such a case they could be comparable with the fragments of amphitrua which were often used in Roman architecture in a horizontal position, as, for instance, at S. Maria Antiqua.<sup>5</sup> The sockets on the brickwork, seen in above the vase band, would play a useful part in stabilizing a cornice without leading metal straps to hook the cornice back to the wall or else supporting wooden brackets from which the upper parts of the cornice was suspended. It is equally significant in this context that water passages have been traced in some of these inner compartments but not in the outer ones. A system which may or may not be an original feature of the church lies beneath the north-western entrance, and a water conduit which is certainly original passes under the floor of the adjacent entrance passage, connecting the internal compartment (or the chancel) with the ground outside the church. In the northern sector, an aperture in the perimeter wall proves that there

<sup>1</sup> *Architectural History*, 1910, p. 104. <sup>2</sup> *Architectural History*, 1910, p. 104. <sup>3</sup> *Architectural History*, 1910, p. 104. <sup>4</sup> *Architectural History*, 1910, p. 104. <sup>5</sup> *Architectural History*, 1910, p. 104.

was a water conduit formerly installed. In the southern sector, the annular chamber formed with exits beneath the area of the outer compartment may, according to some scholars, also have existed there, but in the perimeter wall where a conduit may once have passed. In the north-east sector, on the other hand, there is no sign of a conduit and no such channels are here found at the level where it is seen in the other sectors. Hence, in determining the character of the base compartments in question, we have to remember that, in fact, two and possibly three of them had some kind of water installation beneath the floor. In consequence, it might be proposed as an alternative solution, to reverse the reconstruction heretofore accepted for the character of the inner compartments in the diagonal sectors and to render the outer passages as roofed vestibules and the inner compartments as open corridors (fig. 105), thus accounting for the eastern and western chapels which would be needed to dispose of rain water and also, it seems, making more logical one of the illumination and ventilation which internal circulation afforded. On the other hand, the discussion leaves no doubt that in contrast to all the other parts of the structure, the outer compartments were left bare and even unroofed, an air conduit system of some kind rather than covered spaces (R.K.).

The bare skeletons of the structure can thus be visualized, although the question of the bases and outer compartments in the diagonal sectors remains open. It is hardly to be expected that the pavements which covered the entire interior, and yet this decorative and extremely rich. The pavements were composed of marble slabs in the nave, in the annular aisle, and in the first main chapels, in the diagonal sectors it consisted, at least in the inner compartments, of a mosaic with some large tesserae. On the walls, fifteenth century visitors still saw the church's *tablini* *quoniam vidimus columnas et trinitatis variis coloribus marmoreis parvulis non magis [sic] — et, more precisely, — in musico et con laivelle et tondi di porfido et serpentinis et non fulgore di marmo et gressis d'oro di base et altre gentilezze*<sup>6</sup>. A drawing of Cronaca shows the wall of the center drum with the entablature to the chrestoresy articulated by a series of pilasters.<sup>7</sup> Possibly this was a marble and stucco revetment as it survives in traces in large parts of the building, or was a revetment in stone (fig. 105). Indeed, while the annular aisle no longer shows any signs of having been decorated, it must have originally carried a marble revetment above the arcade, for the marble plaques which cover the intrados of the arches opening into the radial chapel project a centimetre or so toward the annular aisle and must have carried vertical plaques of a mosaic decoration about both in the radial chapel and in the inner compartments of the diagonal sectors which lie between the chapels. The plug holes of a marble revetment can be traced in three main steps, and thus presumably existed in all four. It goes up to the arch and by the apse, to be followed higher up by elegant stucco moldings along the ribs of the arches and by a plaster coating, possibly painted, in the spandrel zone and up to the roof. Conversely, in the inner compartments of the diagonal sectors the marble revetment reaches up to the spandrel zone of the arches and stops only at the mysterious band of *tablini*. On the other hand, no traces of revetment or plaster have been found on the perimeter wall in the diagonal sectors, corresponding to their outer compartments. Correspondingly the pavement of the radial chapel is composed of marble plaques, that of the inner compartments of the diagonal sectors consists of a mosaic with large tesserae, while no trace of a pavement has been found in the outer compartments of the diagonal sectors. Thus, in contrast to the splendor of the interior, the outer compartments of the diagonal sectors — entrance passages, whether roofed or open to the sky — were apparently unadorned and ungraced

<sup>6</sup> *Relazione*, 1500, p. 104. <sup>7</sup> *Relazione*, 1500, p. 104. <sup>8</sup> *Relazione*, 1500, p. 104. <sup>9</sup> *Relazione*, 1500, p. 104. <sup>10</sup> *Relazione*, 1500, p. 104.

<sup>11</sup> See above, p. 100.

This overall impression of a splendid decoration of the building at all its essential parts must be kept in mind, the mosaic on the superficial beholder is apt to think of the structure primarily in terms of a complex mass of bare walls. On the contrary, to the patrons and architects of the late fifth and early sixth centuries, the interlocking of an intricate system of spatial volumes, both solid and open to the open sky, with an equally intricate and colorful decoration was at the basis of the overall layout.

The details of the design of the marble revetment in the different parts of the structure remain unknown, as do those of the painting of the stucco surfaces, nor is anything known so far regarding the original position of an altar. No trace whatever has been found of a confession in the course of the building, and the placing at this point of an altar by Gregory XIII proves nothing for the position of the altar in the original church. Indeed, the altar may have stood originally in the east chapel, where it stands now and where in the seventh century the relics of Saints Primus and Felicianus were deposited in a small confesso.<sup>1</sup> At this point the question had best be left open.

#### G. CHRONOLOGY

The dating of the construction and the derivation of S. Stefano Rotondo could not be simpler. It was built by Simplicius I between 468 and 483, as stated in the *Liber Pontificalis*,<sup>2</sup> and it was erected in one building campaign, as the absence of any breaks testifies. The only pavement in the building of most of the outside doors in the perimeter wall of the outer compartments in all the diagonal sectors, with the exception of the northeast sector, to judge by the style of the masonry, also occurred during construction or shortly after its completion. Since the decoration was executed only between 503 and 530,<sup>3</sup> the blocking of the doorways and the resulting transformation of the entrance passages into closed annular areas might well date from these same years.

On the other hand, the original function of S. Stefano remains a moot question. It was obviously not built as a regular church to be served by a resident clergy and used by a permanent congregation. Throughout Early Christian times it is listed neither among the tituli nor among the *diocesis* of Rome; it was not represented by a member of the clergy at either the synod of 499 or that of 505 and it is mentioned as a cardinal's title first in 1118-1119.<sup>4</sup> Presumably then, in Early Christian times no charge was given to the clergy attached to some titulus or possibly to the cathedral at the nearby Lateran—this was the procedure customary in the case of *marlyria-conventia subgloriosa* (i.e. near a martyr's grave or of catacomb churches sheltering such a grave).<sup>5</sup> Indeed, its central plan suggests that S. Stefano was designed as a *marlyrium*<sup>6</sup> and the martyr venerated would obviously have been Saint Stephen, the protomartyr. After a grave at Klar Gannal near Jerusalem had been identified in 415 as that of Saint Stephen, his cult spread rapidly, first to North Africa, then to other countries of the Latin West.<sup>7</sup> In Africa, memorials of his were numerous as early as 426,

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 102-103, n. 17.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 102-103.

<sup>3</sup> See above, pp. 102-103 and 105-106.

<sup>4</sup> See above, pp. 102-103 and the *Palazzo Giustiniani*, p. 239, who quotes BERTHOUX on CAZZANONE, *De basilicis* V, 1. Morsani, *L. I*, pp. 107-109. Cf. also the note on the chapel, *Museo Clodoviciano* (S. Stefano).

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 147, for S. Silvestro and above, Vol. II, pp. 8, 114 and S. Lorenzo I, 10, and, for S. Marcello e Petrus and generally, *Kaiserwald*—*Martyr-Basiliken*—*Martyrium*—*Cathedra*—*Archiepiscopi*, 11, 106, p. 15, ff. 102-103.

<sup>6</sup> *Origenes*, *Homilien*, Paris, 1921, p. 202.

<sup>7</sup> BERTHOUX, *De basilicis* (cf. above, Vol. II, p. 147).

when St. Augustine interpreted Book XXII of the *City of God* (9 times reproduced) and to the stoning of the martyr, was venerated some 6000 or 7000 years before Christ, 1079 relics, presumably of his body, were early venerated near North Africa,<sup>8</sup> but later distributed, prior to the sixth century,<sup>9</sup> in Rome, the least had changed the calendar by 1000,<sup>10</sup> and the relic attributed by the foundation legend to the papal piety of S. Stefano Rotondo by Pope Simplicianus (near S. Lorenzo I, 10); as well as of S. Stefano Rotondo by Pope Simplicianus. However, no relic has ever been documented in connection with S. Stefano Rotondo, though this would appear to be the focal point of veneration in a *marlyrium*. Hence, relics such a relic were here venerated but disappeared at an early time. S. Stefano Rotondo would seem to have been designed as a church created to commemorate the Saint without the presence of a tangible relic. Given the rarity of relics of Saint Stephen outside Africa and Spain,<sup>11</sup> and given also the traditional aversion of Rome against relics taken from the lands,<sup>12</sup> and in a memorial without a relic, would be natural in the Rome of Simplicianus I. Contemporarily, the imperativeness of the protomartyr in fifth century thought, promoted by the writings of Augustine, and the spread of his cult in Rome at just that time, would explain the building of a splendid monument on the very site where S. Stefano Rotondo stands. In close proximity to the papal palace at the Lateran, it was in the Early Christian epoch quarter, the fifth century, being at it were which during the Roman third of the century, had been studded with sanctuaries dedicated to leading relics and saints. S. Maria Maggiore, the chapel of the Baptist and of Saint John the Evangelist at the Lateran, together with the memory of the Holy Cross nearby. Finally, its closeness to the Lateran cathedral suggests that the clergy of the Lateran may well have served S. Stefano Rotondo.

Shortly before the middle of the seventh century, Pope Theodore deposited the reliquary Saints Primus and Felicianus in a small confesso under the altar in the east chapel. Here the relics were found *in situ* and identified by a seventh century visitor in 1730.<sup>13</sup> This altar appears to have been the only altar in the church. The altar also attached to the east wall of the chapel the small apse which is still extant. Its mosaic shows, above the ordinary inscription, the last saint thinking a huge *crux gemmata* surmounted by a *chrysa* bearing an image of Christ, possibly, indicating the cross in the courtyard of the Ananias at Jerusalem, where the pope's father Bishop Theodore had been exiled by the Arab conquest.<sup>14</sup> Another altar, dedicated to the Baptist, was erected, presumably in the same century, in one of the other chapels.

Only one minor repair seems to have affected the building during the following four centuries, the raising of its central drum by about 1.50 m. The masonry and the scaffolding holes in the addition, both characteristic of Roman building practice under the Carolingian popes, can plainly be linked to the repair undertaken by Hadrian I.<sup>15</sup>

By the twelfth century the outer portions of the structure, the radial chapels as well as the outer

<sup>8</sup> MORSANI, *De basilicis* (see above, p. 102).

<sup>9</sup> *Augustinus*, *Sermo*, 202, 2. MORSANI, *L. I*, p. 102, n. 102. Cf. also BERTHOUX, *De basilicis* (see above, Vol. II, p. 147).

<sup>10</sup> BERTHOUX, *op. cit.*, pp. 102-103.

<sup>11</sup> BERTHOUX, *op. cit.*, pp. 102-103. Cf. also MORSANI, *L. I*, p. 102, n. 102. Cf. also BERTHOUX, *De basilicis* (see above, Vol. II, p. 147).

<sup>12</sup> BERTHOUX, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

<sup>13</sup> See above, pp. 102-103.

<sup>14</sup> See above, pp. 102-103.

<sup>15</sup> BERTHOUX, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

<sup>16</sup> See above, pp. 102-103.

<sup>17</sup> See above, pp. 102-103.

and under reconstruction on the diagonal sections, were apparently in being and the center arm abandoned as a chapel. Here repairs were made, resulting in a general transformation of the section — all the outgoing piers were abandoned, except for the east column and a portion of the southern diagonal section, the latter serving as an entrance passage, nearly the blocking walls of the annular aisle was blocked, leaving but small oculi in the lunettes of the blocking walls; a small west apse projecting from the darkened annular aisle was added, as was an entrance porch preceding the east half of the northeast sector, into the center room was inserted a huge cross wall with supporting piers and columns, designed to carry the shorter beams of the new roof, finally, the height of the center room was slightly increased — the addition is easily identified by its Romanesque brickwork. The entire operation was apparently undertaken by Innocent II.<sup>1</sup>

The repairs effected by Nicholas V were perhaps less radical than is often assumed. They were limited to vaulting the entrance passage in the northeast corner, thus turning it into a vestibule, and providing its doors at either end with graceful marble frames; placing in the north wall of the east chapel another door from the vestibule, remodeling the convex building inserted in the north chapel; re-roofing and covering with coffered ceilings the center room and the annular aisle; inserting tracery work into eight clerestory windows and walling up the others, and finally glazing these eight windows as well as the oculi in the blocking walls of the annular aisle.<sup>2</sup>

Finally, the work of Gregory XIII focused mainly on redecorating the church as a center for the scholarly activity of the Collegium Germanicum, to which it was yoked in 1575.<sup>3</sup> Many scenes were painted on the blocking walls of the annular aisle and on the lateral walls of what remained of the east chapel, to fortify the members of the Collegio and their students in their readiness to die for the Faith like the martyrs of the early days. The placing of a chancel on the high altar in the center of the church, and the site of that altar itself, may have been chosen in imitation of models such as S. Costanza, but it is possible that an altar already occupied the center of S. Stefano Romano prior to the sixteenth century, rather since the time of Nicholas V or of Innocent II or indeed, from the very outset. The structural changes were confined to partitioning off from the east chapel a sacristy to the left and a stateroom to the right. To accommodate the sacristy, the ceiling of Nicholas V was removed from its original level at the full height of the chapel and placed much lower; two windows were opened in the outer wall, while a door marked with Pope Gregory's name was equied toward the annular aisle; the door which Nicholas V had opened from his vestibule in the north wall of the east chapel was removed to the wall which partitions the sacristy from the main room of the chapel.

The latest remodeling of the structure dates from 1736, when the altar in the east chapel was rebuilt by Cardinal Gentili and presumably at the same time the chapel of Saints Paul and Stephen of Hungary inserted into the east portion of the southeast diagonal sector and decorated with frescoes.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The building of the *arcade-like vestibule* has been extensively studied in the work undertaken by Nicholas V in 1466, op. cit., pp. 109 and 110; cf. also the same author's *Lettera* "Kronika" (1903), p. 90.  
<sup>2</sup> See above, fig. 113a-114.  
<sup>3</sup> See above, fig. 115a-115b.  
<sup>4</sup> See above, fig. 120.  
<sup>5</sup> The observations regarding the alignment of the sacristy were made by the keen eye of Prof. F. L. Curtis.  
<sup>6</sup> See above, fig. 122a-125.

## HISTORICAL POSITION

When all is said and done, S. Stefano Romano stands in some respect *opposita* (as it were) to the reconstruction of the original building, to be forgotten and to the ideas — especially for the houses of Early Christian architecture.

The picture we can present of the original structure, in which, as we have considered so many points that previous attempts at "restoration" of the building show, was the center made the vestibule, the four baptistries and the four diagonal aisles. Very far from being, this plan and setting of the outer and inner sections beyond its walls.

Doubts likewise remain concerning the function of the original building. While it clearly and built as a church, not as a temple, it is not clear from Roman literature, or from the time, is far from obvious. Its plan suggests that it was not designed for the ordinary needs of a permanent congregation, and this is confirmed by the discovered lack of a permanent group attached to the church. Rather, it appears to have been held out as a model of the pantheon or perhaps again the absence of a relic or of a traditional shrine, the question involved.

These doubts also make it difficult to assign the structure as an prototype toward Early Christian church buildings. True enough, its destination to study, study, treatment and modern ornament in the early sixth century, and its character, especially the site at the very end of what has been called the Sixteenth Renaissance of the fifth century in Rome.<sup>5</sup> But its plan and design have no place in the development of church building in Rome, or, for that matter, in the Latin West. Structure resembling S. Stefano Romano, usually planned and executed, but ending, almost rarely or domes, but always in similar construction, are found only among structures of the Christian East from the fourth through the sixth centuries.<sup>6</sup> In particular, the characteristic suspension of the circular and cross shape which marks S. Stefano Romano appears to be found in the East, first, in some of the designs proposed and described by Gregory of Nyssa and in the central plan church at Wanshoik.<sup>7</sup> Indeed, it seems tempting to fit the general model for S. Stefano, the Rotunda of the Anastasis at Jerusalem.<sup>8</sup> From the limited archaeological evidence known from pilgrims' reports and from the sketch and description of Anthonin, who found the Holy Land in 670, the Anastasis appears to have been in the form of an Indian, a circular structure, square-roofed or timber-roofed, and enveloped by an inner and perhaps by an outer ambulatory, within this circular plan, a cross shape was marked by piers of stone, intersecting the circumference and by small apses in the main axis. Its measurements, even the measurements with the present measurements of S. Stefano — the diameter of the center room and the width of the inner aisle in the diagonal sections.<sup>9</sup> Recent investigations, to be sure, have called this opinion the central period of the

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 189. Cf. also the discussion of the building in the *Journal of the American Institute of Architects*, Vol. 1, p. 100. Cf. also the *Journal of the American Institute of Architects*, Vol. 1, p. 100.

<sup>6</sup> For the plan of the building, see the *Journal of the American Institute of Architects*, Vol. 1, p. 100. Cf. also the *Journal of the American Institute of Architects*, Vol. 1, p. 100.

<sup>7</sup> The *Journal of the American Institute of Architects*, Vol. 1, p. 100. Cf. also the *Journal of the American Institute of Architects*, Vol. 1, p. 100.

<sup>8</sup> The *Journal of the American Institute of Architects*, Vol. 1, p. 100. Cf. also the *Journal of the American Institute of Architects*, Vol. 1, p. 100.

<sup>9</sup> The *Journal of the American Institute of Architects*, Vol. 1, p. 100. Cf. also the *Journal of the American Institute of Architects*, Vol. 1, p. 100.

<sup>10</sup> The *Journal of the American Institute of Architects*, Vol. 1, p. 100. Cf. also the *Journal of the American Institute of Architects*, Vol. 1, p. 100.

recovered (the Commission had assumed the Anastasis monument<sup>1</sup>) and if these are further from Rome, are they *ambulatoria* (ambulatores) or *ambulatoria* (or ambulatories) that was seen by the later pilgrims (can only represent a rebuilding of Constantine's original structure). At this point, however, there is no reason to think that such a rebuilding took place, and that it indeed occurred prior to the latter part of the 4th century, when it became the model for S. Stefano Rotondo in Rome.

<sup>1</sup> *Journal of the American Institute of Archaeology*, 1901, 10, 113-114, 117-118.

## S. STEFANO IN VIA LATINA

R. Krautheimer, S. Collett, W. Frank

### A. BIBLIOGRAPHY

- PROMI, "Appendice", *Giornale di Roma*, 190, 16, 1928, p. 147.  
 FORNENTI, *Storia della chiesa e del soprano della basilica di S. Stefano* (Pia. Prato, Rome, 1904).  
 PROMI, "Relazione sullo stato attuale della basilica di S. Stefano", *Giornale di Roma*, June 22, 1928, supplement reproduced separately (1838<sup>2</sup>) (see note on republication as PROMI, *Relazione*).  
 FORNENTI, *Relazione generale degli scavi lungo la Via Latina*, Rome, 1879 (reissued hereafter as FORNENTI, *Relazione*).  
 MONTE, "La basilica di S. Stefano sulla Via Latina", *Albania* 24, 1878, p. 224 ff.  
 MONTE, "Il fonte battesimale della basilica di S. Stefano sulla Via Latina", *ibid.*, p. 104 ff.  
 NISARD, "On the Clauses of Rome", *Archaeologia* 40, 1866, p. 177 ff. esp. 179.  
 TOMASETTI, *La Campagna Romana*, IV, Rome, 1926, p. 68 ff.  
 ANTONIETTI, *Christus*, 1942, p. 102 ff.  
 ARGENTON GHEZZI, Summary of paper read Dec. 12, 1960, *Rivista. Riv. Ant. Ital.* 11 (1961/2), p. XIX.

### B. ANCIENT ILLUSTRATIONS

- 1858 ANONYMOUS, Plans and views of ruins, lithographs, PROMI, *Relazione* (our fig. 107).  
 1858 COSTANTINI, Views of ruins and baptismal font, woodcut; MONTE, *op. cit.*, pp. 123, 163.  
 1879 PARRINI, Plan of building complex, including church, engraving, FORNENTI, *Relazione* (our fig. 108).

### C. DATES

- after 325 Epitaph of *SEX ANTO PAULINO PROULO AERIAL BRIGIO PRATE URB* found in 1872 (1951 in ruins of church) FORNENTI, *Relazione*, p. 13; 1896, *Brevi cenni*, p. 131.  
 341 Epitaph of unknown woman: *IN XPIA CLIVIA ET PROBINA* [CILVI] FORNENTI, *Brevi cenni*, p. 12; IDEM, *Relazione*, p. 13; and DE ROSS, *Inscriptiones*, I, p. 514, no. 1123; see also below, dir. 51B-52.  
 440-461 Demetria, a lady of the Anicii family, founds the church through a legacy, at the time of Leo I.  
<sup>1</sup> *Huius temporibus fecit Demetria ancilla Dei basilicam sancto Stephano in Latina mihario in via praedicta* [CILVI] I, p. 238.

Construction is supervised by the presbyter Tigrinus appointee of Pope Leo.

CUM MENSURA TEMPERATE DEMETRIAE ANICIAE VIRGINI  
 CLAUDI FRATRI AVRELIANUM NON MOX IURA DICIM  
 HOC EST TIBI PAPAE IIII VIGORVM EXTREMA SUORUM  
 TRADIDIT UT SUFFICIE SVRGERET AVILA DOMINI  
 MOX IN LAETI COMPLETO TUIS SUI GEBRILLA MAIOR  
 INTERIUS VOTUM SUI VIRE QUIAM PROP ALIUM  
 IN DIDERAT CIVIVM SEP TANTVM QUI PRIMVS IN ORBE  
 CIVIVM MORTUO VITI RESIGNAT DNI ANICII PPAE  
 PRATAVIS HANC SVSIV TIGRINVS PATERSTRER ANICIM  
 EX COLTO INSORTO MENTE LAVO ET IANCI

<sup>1</sup> No bibliography given prior to the inscription of the church. Details in illustration are checking prior to that date.

<sup>2</sup> No second part was ever published.

<sup>3</sup> The date of distribution by R. Krautheimer printed on the title page does not seem to have been printed.

- The correspondence of the de-Domenican fragments is now in the Museo J. del. Enrico. It was found at fragments among the ruins of the church in 1857, and is now in the Museo J. del. Enrico. It was found at fragments among the ruins of the church in 1857, and is now in the Museo J. del. Enrico.
- 531—532 Epigraph of MARIANO MARINO buried in the church of S. Stefano in Via Latina (Lampade et Inscr. I, p. 123, no. 116).
- 531—532 Epigraph of MARIANO MARINO buried in the church of S. Stefano in Via Latina (Lampade et Inscr. I, p. 123, no. 116).
- 531—532 Epigraph of MARIANO MARINO buried in the church of S. Stefano in Via Latina (Lampade et Inscr. I, p. 123, no. 116).
- 566—578 Epigraph of "M. MARINO MARINO" buried in the church of S. Stefano in Via Latina (Lampade et Inscr. I, p. 123, no. 116).
- 795—815 The ruins of the church, long in bad repair, are restored by Leo III. ("Ponitudo in area loci S. Stephani in Via Latina per maritimos occurrentes in latine milario tertio, quos per multa iam annorum tempora ad huc repertis et hinc pariter, noster reparavit" (L.P., II, p. 29).
- 844—847 A list of the names of the church in the shepherd of the church of S. Stefano in Via Latina (Lampade et Inscr. I, p. 123, no. 116).
- 847—855 Leo IV provides materials, including six miles, and altar vessels in the church of S. Stefano in Via Latina (Lampade et Inscr. I, p. 123, no. 116).

## D. GENERAL DESCRIPTION

Very little of the original church of S. Stefano in Via Latina remains above ground level. Although the sources refer to a church of this dedication close to the third milestone of the Via Latina, all traces of it had been lost until 1857, when Lorenzo Fortunati came across it while searching in the area for traces of the ancient thoroughfare. He discovered the foundation walls of a large suburban villa close to the road and, built inside the villa, the church (fig. 107). In 1858, the *Commissione di Archeologia sacra* was empowered by Pope Pius IX to take over the systematic clearing of the site and the reverberations of the controversy developing between the discoverer and the *Commissione* are felt in the publications of both Fortunati and Profili, the secretary of the *Commissione*.

In preparing the remains of the church for permanent exhibition, the *Commissione di Archeologia Sacra* surrounded it with high walls; those to the north and south coincide with the flanks of the basilica while the walls to east and west are placed a little beyond the area of the church. The remains of the villa have been allowed to disappear while those of the church were thoroughly restored. It was a simple basilica with an apse at the west end and its entrance at the east. The part of the villa on which the church stood had formerly been occupied by a sanctuary or tomb of the classical period. Within the church, the remains of this sanctuary were used as a crypt.

## E. ANALYSIS

The disappearance of the adjoining structures, and the thorough restoration undertaken in the church in 1857 to 1858, make it necessary to utilize not only the extant remains but the surveys made at the time of excavation as well. Unfortunately, these surveys, published the one by Fortunati, the other by Profili, differ on a number of points.

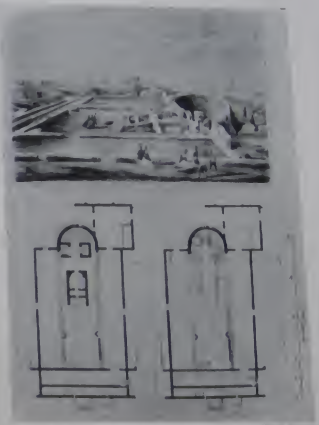


Fig. 107. S. Stefano in Via Latina. Anticostruzione. Vista aerea (top) e pianta (bottom).



The 100' S. Stefano in Via Latina. Profani's Plan, 1876

### 1. The narthex

According to Fortunati's plan (fig. 197) the church was approached through a spacious courtyard, 100 m long and 24 m wide, flanked on its west side by a long portico, whose center portion developed into a somewhat deeper narthex in front of the basilica. A flight of four steps led up from the courtyard to the narthex. A wall found within the narthex, parallel to its long sides, was interpreted by Fortunati as having carried an inner row of columns in line with the rear wall of the long portico. The colonnades and steps have now disappeared but it seems that Fortunati's reconstruction was based on the following evidence: *a*) four or five column bases or base blocks standing along the axis of a long stylobate wall of *opus listatum* indicated the long colonnaded portico; *b*) an inner wall, also of *opus listatum*, parallel with the stylobate, indicated the rear wall of the portico; *c*) the

remnants of the lateral walls, prolongations of the side walls of the basilica, indicated the north and south side walls of the narthex; *d*) a wall parallel with the portico, built entirely in *reticulatum*, marked the entrance wall of the basilica proper.

Before Fortunati excavated them, none of these walls protruded above ground level and probably very little survived above the level of the church floor. During the restoration some of the walls were heightened, using masonry which reproduces the ancient material, and in studying the church it is important to distinguish between what is ancient and what is restoration. The side walls of the narthex are indicated by their foundations, which are certainly ancient on the north side, although the south side wall is more doubtfully ancient (pl. XIV). The side walls are inserted between the parallel walls of the portico and obviously postdate them. For the narthex colonnades, Fortunati shows no bases in the area of the narthex, but Profili marks two on the easternmost of the two parallel walls, in the line of the long colonnade (figs. 197 and 198).

One of them corresponds with a base block which still exists (Pl. XIV); the other, south of the church axis, has disappeared. Although examination of the existing stylobate wall suggests that the block which is actually *in situ* was placed there in the nineteenth century to support a restored column which has subsequently fallen over, Profili's plan leaves little doubt that there was adequate evidence for its being so placed. On the basis of this evidence, and assuming that the columns were evenly spaced, the location of five columns in the front colonnade of the narthex can be reasonably postulated. They are rather widely spaced, but not unreasonably so if the porch had a timber roof and timber lintels. The piers which Fortu-

and placed in each end of the narthex to support a roof for the side walls are postulated by any reasonable evidence (fig. 197).

Fortunati's reconstruction of the narthex colonnade seems to be approved. What he took to be the stylobate of an ancient colonnade is better interpreted as the conventional footing course of the rear wall of the central long portico, which was removed when the narthex of the fourth century church was built. Only one of these footings are visible and the missing other columns are indicated

### 2. Nave and aisles

The nave is 14.60 m wide and 29.20 m in length and terminates in an apse of a diameter of 3.40 m. Colonnades on each side divide the nave from the aisles, these being 2.25 m wide and as long as the nave (figs. 199, 200). The thickness of the nave wall is 0.60 m, that of the aisle walls, 0.60 m.

The walls of the church are built in *opus caementitium* (figs. 201, 202) except for the rear entrance wall, which consists entirely of *reticulatum* (fig. 199). At the north and at the entrance wall the *reticulatum* gives place to a few courses of *opus listatum* which are bonded diagonally with the north wall of the narthex (fig. 200). We thus deduce that the part which is *reticulatum* comes from an earlier period and was raised by the church builders, as evidence for their own work. The chronological possibility that the *reticulatum* wall is later than the *opus listatum* is less likely because the *reticulatum* foundation is lower. Moreover, while we find other pre-existing structures incorporated in the church that are built of *reticulatum* all later construction is of *opus caementitium*. In no position near the west wall (about 1.50 m above ground level but more than half of this height if reconstructed) remains the apex part of the west wall,



Fig. 101. S. Stefano in Via Latina. View of church, looking west, 1920.





Fig. 200. S. Stefano in Via Latina. Right hand photograph, 1970; wall, 1970.

there is a single opening in the middle of the wall but it is in the restored part of the structure and was built well below the level where the original threshold would have been, merely to provide easy access to the nave area.

The north wall of the north aisle barely exists above floor level, though its location is shown by the modern enclosure wall which stands on its foundations. Here and there a course or two of the original *opus reticulatum* can be distinguished and the former level of the aisle pavement is probably indicated by a projecting brick course at the top of the foundations. The doorway which Profili's plan shows near the center of the north wall is still faintly discernible (figs. 197, 202). At the northwest corner of the north aisle single courses of *tuffoli* and brick (*opus listatum* 1:1) alternate through four courses. This masonry forms the northwest corner of the aisle and continues in the end wall (fig. 204). The footing course also continues through the corner and there is no doubt that north and west walls are contemporaneous.

The south wall is rather different. Over much of its length the ground has risen to conceal the original masonry, but seven meters of its length are visible at its west end (fig. 204). Here the *opus listatum* coursing is two *tuffoli* to one brick (*opus listatum* 2:1). The south wall foundations lie lower than those on the north side of the church, presumably because a drain runs parallel with the wall outside the church. Fortuna's records that the south side of this drain is of *opus reticulatum* and we presume that it already existed when the church was built. The *opus listatum* 2:1 continues, perfectly well bonded, through the corner between the south wall and the west end wall of the aisle (fig. 204), but the foundations of the latter are at a higher level and correspond with those already noted in the north aisle. The only difference is that this west wall has no projecting brick course at its base.

belonging to the church, may have been built on the usual *opus listatum*. Profili and Fortuna both agree (see above) that the church had three doorways at the east end, one for the nave and one in each side aisle, but the evidence on which their opinion is based is tenuous. On his general plan of the area, Fortuna shows three openings (fig. 138). Profili's plan shows the doorway in the north aisle but none in the nave and south aisle (fig. 197). Presumably all trace of the latter had disappeared by the time Profili came on the scene, if any ever existed. We must presume that Profili found sufficient evidence for a north doorway, and hence for all three, his drawings give no details (fig. 197). At present

A doorway in the north wall south of each aisle led from the interior outside, as possible, to the streets beyond the nave and aisle. In the north side the masonry and below sign of the *opus listatum* 1:1 and the same masonry continues without interruption to form the aisle and the end wall of the north side aisle (fig. 204). In the north side the restored masonry has doorway and the south side aisle (*opus listatum* 2:1) and the north side, the north side of the doorway is 1:1, and the same masonry continues through the aisle and in the rest of the north aisle.



Fig. 201. S. Stefano in Via Latina. North side wall and (right side) north aisle.



Fig. 202. S. Stefano in Via Latina. North side of church, showing doorway of aisle.



Fig. 203. S. Stefano in Via Latina. North side wall and end wall of north aisle.



Fig. 204. S. Stefano in Via Latina. North side wall and end wall of north aisle, detail.



Fig. 205. S. Stefano in Via Latina. End wall of north aisle, showing door to baptistry.



Fig. 206. S. Stefano in Via Latina. North side wall, showing door to baptistry.

The finished surface of the base wall is continuous, and it is not clear why the *opus testaceum* on one side of the *basilica* differs from that on the other. Proffitt reports that the doorway at the west part of the north aisle was casual blocked up with masonry similar to that of the rest of the church, but this blocking no longer exists.

The *opus testaceum* on the side and wall continues throughout the apse except where it is interrupted by three blind relieving arches apparently designed to concentrate the load of the apse wall onto selected portions of the foundations (figs. 206, 207).



Fig. 197. St. Anthony in New Jersey. View of apse. After suitable ground level with of *cellarum* longitudinal.

At length soon. Proffitt notes that at the time of excavation five column emplacements were identifiable (fig. 197) and we assume that they correspond with the five base blocks which now exist. However, there are not necessarily the original blocks, since parts of the colonnade were re-erected in 1873 and the present base blocks may well be replacements (figs. 199, 203). Today only two columns remain standing and those which have fallen display the nineteenth century iron dowels used in re-erecting them. Among the ruins of the church Fortmann found, lying in or near the nave, 22 blocks about 1.67 m. long, 30 bases and over 30 capitals, but he moved them all out of the church and so can no longer assign any column to its original place. If the evidence can be relied upon, the spacing of the base blocks shows that there were 11 columns on each side of the nave.

At the west end of the nave, beside the apse, the colonnades terminated in square piers, the main courses of which still exist. The spacing of the column bases seems to indicate that similar piers occurred against the east wall although no part of them survives today.

Although the nave floor does not survive, its original level can be deduced from the base blocks of the nave columns and the projecting footing courses of the aisle side walls, which coincide in level to within a few centimeters. Presumably the church floor lay directly on top of them.

The area northwest of the apse is occupied by a nearly square chamber (below east and south walls are integral with the nave and apse) while its other two walls are more predominantly east (possibly anterior). Near the center of this chamber Fortunati excavated a small fan-shaped basin about 0.60 m. deep, its vertical sides constructed entirely of *tabellae* except for a single brick cornice, and lined with water-proof cement or *opus signinum* (fig. 197). Its location indicated that the chamber served as the baptistery and the basin as the baptismal font. The placing of the baptistery adjoining the apse links it parallel in late fourth and fifth century churches, such as S. Crisogono in Rome<sup>1</sup> and the Panmachus basilica at Paris<sup>2</sup>, and fan-shaped fonts are found at S. Crisogono as well as, for instance, at Maxima in Corsica<sup>3</sup>. Hence, the font at St. Anthony may be contemporary with the construction of the church (R.K. 174). On the other hand, the basin may have been used as a font if baptistery only after the church was built and its *tabellae* masonry and unusual shape may suggest that it was originally part of some ornamental fountain, perhaps in a thermal complex (S.C.). The existence of such a complex is suggested by a hypocaust system south of the apse, to be discussed below.

### 3. Antecedent features

The remains of older buildings which have been incorporated in the narthex and entrance wall and possibly the baptismal font are not the only features which appear to antedate the church.

A classical column base survives, embedded in the exterior face of the apse wall, 1.44 m. south of the center line (fig. 206). Above it a vertical channel shows where the column shaft formerly stood embedded in the outside face of the wall. Proffitt mistakenly showed a concave fluting feature on the north side of the center line, thinking that the column belonged to some decoration of the apse (fig. 197). In fact there was only one column and it must have belonged to a colonnade antecedent to the church. It is exactly in line with a wall, some meters to the south, which is presumably part of the same feature. This wall, built partly of *opus reticulatum* and partly of *opus testaceum*, forms one side of a vaulted underground passage with lateral flues, which we interpret as part of a hypocaust. A rectangular enclosure which lies on top of the vault may be a tank for hot water. Apart from a short section of *opus reticulatum*, the hypocaust walls are all built of *opus testaceum* (17). Since they are associated with the column in the apse wall, and since the latter is obviously earlier than the church, we assign the whole hypocaust complex to a period antedating the church. It may or may not have continued in use after the building of the church.

Traces of a marble pavement found at a level considerably below that established for the church led Proffitt to suppose that the aisle floors were about a meter higher than the nave, but Fortunati is much more likely correct in assigning the lower pavement to an earlier period than the church. We conjecture that it belongs to the same complex as the *tabellae* footings of the west wall. At a point near the middle of the nave this older pavement was interrupted by a deep rectangular pit, identified in Proffitt's plan by the letter G (fig. 197).

To the same pre-existing complex we assign a small *cellarum* which stands near the middle of the nave, slightly south of the church axis and either level with or slightly lower than the pre-existing pavement (figs. 197, 199, 203, 207, 208, 209). It resembles the east wall of the nave in being

<sup>1</sup> See above VIII, 1, p. 135 (last column records). Also see *Antiquaria*, 1, 189 (1897) (1907) (1910), 3, *Antiquaria*, 1910, 1911, 1912.

<sup>2</sup> De Ross, "L'Église de Saint-Martin de Paris," *R.A.P.*, 1, 1879, p. 77, 82, 92, 93, 97.

<sup>3</sup> Morsosini-Mazzini, *Le Scavi di San Crisogono in Roma*, Paris, 1902, pp. 20, 21.

<sup>4</sup> See also Kroll's account, *Die Basilika Johannes Baptistae in Paris*, 1903, p. 121, and Zellerbach, "Die Basilika Sancti Crisostomi und Basilica von San Simeone," *R. Q. Mit.*, 19, 1906, p. 243, 244.



Fig. 7. A. Stages in Via Latio. Aerial view, south side of the main wall.

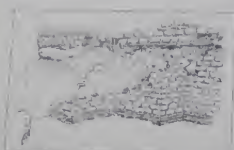


Fig. 7. B. Stages in Via Latio. Aerial view, north side, with shaft 1, remaining, open end wall.

constructed only of ashlar except for a triple brick course at the base of its walls (fig. 201). According to Prof. J. B. originally had a marble floor and wall revetments of marble and stucco. The aedicular had the plan of a small shrine or perhaps tomb, comprising porch, intermediate chamber and inner cella (figs. 197, 198). Half-round recesses in the eastern ends of the side walls indicate that the porch was once flanked by columns. A doorway at the rear of the porch, slightly oblique, led into the narrow intermediate chamber and thence to the inner cella (fig. 202). The latter is oblong and had niches for lamps on each side of the door. The opposite wall is developed into a raised recessed podium in plan of two quarter-circles flanking an opening, possibly however, the original central element was a rectangular niche which later subsequently was converted into the opening (figs. 197, 207, 208).

The original walls of the aedicular are 100' 500 m. below the level of the church floor, and it seems likely that the shrine was buried when the church was built. After the aedicular walls were put down, its cella was roofed over with a shallow vaulted ceiling of undetermined date (though certainly later than the walls (fig. 203, b). Since the vault is contemporaneous with the *schola cantorum* (fig. 206, c), the aedicular was buried and vaulted when the *schola* was built. Very likely, this occurred at the time the church was first laid out. But it is possible that the burial of the aedicular and the construction of the *schola* belong to a second building campaign at some unknown time, possibly even considerably later than the construction of the basilica.

Walls of the aedicular, at the level of the aedicular and the pre-existing pavement, Prof. J. B. reports two small, rectangular chambers revetted with marble and symmetrically disposed on either side of the axis of the aedicular complex (fig. 197). Only a small portion of the north chamber is now visible: it is built of *tabulae* only. These chambers are presumed to belong to the same complex as the aedicular and pavement. Prof. J. B. believed that they formed part of the church building in an early stage, but in the present writers it seems more likely that they are all survivals from some complex which occupied the site before the church was built, the aedicular being reused at a later period in both part of a crypt beneath the nave floor.

#### 4. Chancel site and crypt

Whereas the original aedicular walls are truncated below the level of the nave floor, the shallow vault with which they were subsequently roofed evidently rose some distance above the general floor level. This protruberance was concealed by the raised floor of a comparatively narrow chancel site, only 4.80 m. wide (figs. 197, 198, 199, 207). The original length can no longer be deter-

mined. It still appears (p. 10) from the sketch of the site, merely indicating the outline of the area, and of this, too, little longer. When this necessarily the area of the chancel and lateral walls were built there have since (nearly) disappeared and only a few courses of stone (found in 1931) have remained to bear witness to the existence of the walls. There is no sign of a chancel in the northern corner of the aedicular (sketch in plan, 4, closely connected with the eastern corner) and just at the south end of the main part of the superimposed north wall of the chancel site (5). We presume that the south and the chancel walls are contemporaneous. Outside the *basilica*—the traces of being built are still seen, two on each side, joining the lateral thrust walls of the nave, aedicular. The eastern part of walls closed the west end of the nave pit in front of the *schola*, while the other part corresponded with the posthumous colonnade of the nave (resembling). When Prof. J. B. there to draw, they still have traces of spaces—delineating representing marble revetments.

The bulk of the of the chancel, on the front of the *schola*, is built of well preserved (fig. 197). It is a rectangular structure of brickwork (up to 1.5 m. high) on a concrete foundation block which partly rests on a small concrete foundation block which partly rests on the concrete foundation block. A small portion of the concrete foundation block extends down into the core of the foundation block, and a small portion of the concrete foundation block extends down into the core of the foundation block, and a small portion of the concrete foundation block extends down into the core of the foundation block, and a small portion of the concrete foundation block extends down into the core of the foundation block. A narrow one metre deep. Unfortunately the site is now too incomplete for their possible to be seen.

Close to the *schola* doorways pierced the side walls of the raised floor pit, and were formed, by means of narrow stairs, to a crypt which was but a western extension of the *basilica* (Prof. J. B. asserts that the crypt also constructed of well preserved superimposed with the *schola*).

#### E. RECONSTRUCTION

The classical building which stood on the ground where the *schola* was subsequently built, is incomplete to be fully intelligible, but what we know may be reconstructed as follows. A large suburban villa belonging to the *Viri* family stood close to the Via Latio and consisted of a main wall with a complex including an area of visible preserved surrounding a rectangular pit (fig. 197, a-c). West of the pit, and on its axis, stood the aedicular. Behind that were small square buildings, symmetrically placed along this axis. All these buildings, and also a well site, bounded the perimeter on the east side, were constructed of tuff and brick, while the walls of the pit, the aedicular and the square buildings were revetted with marble. Some of the square buildings were also built in the only part of the villa which is still almost preserved, the *schola* (resembling, perhaps a distance some 500 meters to the west) (D on Fig. 197, a-c). Other fragments of the villa which, survive in fragments near the church are built of *opus reticulatum*. A portion covered part of the marble paved area was bounded on its east side by a long passage (B on Fig. 197, a-c), fig. 197) which is probably was built in a later time than the marble pavement. The location of the passage, since the base of its eastern face is higher than the marble pavement. The location of the pit, the aedicular and the two chamber buildings were somewhat outside. No doubt, they being together and one would like to interpret the entire complex as a house of some kind, a main-domus created by one of the owners of the villa, presumably an ancestor of Domitian and, more likely than not, *Hadrian*. But the question must remain undecided.

When the church took the place of the aedicular complex, the builders took care of the marble built east boundary wall on the east wall of the main and aedicular, and adjacent part of the reconstructed passage as a *narthex*. The marble pavement and the lower portion of the aedicular were buried

"beneath the church floor," the upper part of the *aedícula* was presumably cut down to floor level. The first and also an alternative interpretation<sup>1</sup> is simply that the *aedícula* was kept intact inside the church and 68550, like St. Peter's *aedícula* at the Vatican Basilica, half-laid in the church floor, only at a later period when the channel site was constructed would the *aedícula* have disappeared. However, this hypothesis is based on the assumption that the channel was inserted into the original *basilica* in a second campaign, but this assumption is entirely unproven. It is far more likely that the burial of the *aedícula*, its vaulting and the construction of the channel are all contemporaneous with the building of the *basilica*. This is confirmed by the fact that the ancient marble pavement was buried 1.10 m. below the church floor; if the *aedícula* was originally intended to be seen *in situ* the church we would expect the builders to raise the ancient pavement.

The church was an ordinary apsidal basilica with eight columns on each side of the nave. The wide spacing of the columns and the absence of architrave blocks among the ruins, although all mura were plentiful, indicate that the columns supported arches. We presume that these were trifore windows above. A narthex in front of the entrance, here remodelled from the pre-existing portico, was a normal feature in Roman church building since at least the late fourth century, as was a baptistery chamber flanking the apse, regardless of the original function and date of the font in the case of this church.

The plan of both the altar site and the channel site is not exceptional in Roman churches from the fourth through the early eighth centuries. The placing of the altar behind the chord of the apse, the narrowness and length of the channel proper, and the wing walls which extend laterally to the nave colonnades find counterparts in a number of other churches. S. Pietro in Vincoli, Church A, dated ca. 490; S. Clemente, 533 to 535; the second church of S. Marco, ca. 530 to 620, and even the channel of S. Maria Antiqua, dating from 705 to 707<sup>2</sup>. In most of these, the channel proper is continued in the direction of the nave entrances by a still narrower *colata* enclosed by parapets or walls. It is possible that such a feature existed also at S. Stefano in Via Latina, but this can no longer be established.

On the other hand, the placing of a crypt in continuation of the *aedícula* is an unusual feature and we are not certain whether it belongs to the original plan of the church or is the result of a later remodeling.

#### G. CHRONOLOGY

The features of the plan of this church are standard in fifth century Rome, from S. Vitale to S. Sabina and even S. Agnà dei Goti. The baptistery chamber flanking the apse also finds its parallels in the Pamphilius basilica at Porto, dated ca. 390, and at S. Crescenzio in Rome, as remodelled, presumably near the middle or in the second half of the fifth century<sup>3</sup>. Likewise the construction *in opus Isidorianum* is customary in churches in the Roman campagna and occasionally inside the city from the fourth through the sixth centuries. Nothing then contradicts, and even archaeological indication coincides with, the date of the foundation as established by the inscription tablet commemorating the legacy of Demetrias and the building of the basilica under Leo I, 445-461, and by the passage in Leo's biography in the *Liber Pontificalis*<sup>4</sup>. The construction

of the channel site might well be contemporaneous with the building of the church. In 1806, as mentioned, appears in Roman maps the church and immediately to the north and south and immediately to the east at the beginning of the eighth century. Taking into consideration the tradition of S. Stefano in Via Latina to the *basilica* beneath the *basilica* (see also the same date, ca. 460, in the channel site and the *basilica*).

However, the possibility that the channel site was laid out in a later date need not be precluded entirely. As mentioned, the type continues into the sixth and seventh centuries. Indeed, the laying out of a crypt beneath the channel is not known as far as the fifth century extends in Rome. The first example seems to be the crypt which Gregory I, 590-604, placed under the channel at S. Paolo V. I, m.<sup>5</sup> This is followed, under Hadrian I, 755-768, by the "hall crypt" of S. Maria in Cosmedin<sup>6</sup>. Possibly then, the crypt at S. Stefano is the earliest of a crypt and an extension west to coincide with the high altar and the *basilica*, and due to a remodeling in the course of the seventh or perhaps eighth centuries.

The last references to the church of S. Stefano date from the thirteenth century when Leo IV donated a small rectory, and the "gigantic" Lateran donated a field<sup>7</sup>. The occupation as a castle-hered suggests that by then the neighborhood had become poorer. Presumably the building was abandoned shortly afterward and finally all but forgotten.

#### H. HISTORICAL POSITION

If we are right in identifying the complex which was buried beneath the thirteenth century church as the remains of an earlier sanctuary, S. Stefano may be a rare example in the early where early Christian buildings avoided ground named by paganism. Nevertheless, an *agrippa* might have been admitted in the case of a church built by the donation of a private person and within the precinct of that person's own house. Alternatively, the original sanctuary might have been Christian. In other respects the church was a normal specimen of a small fifth century *basilica*.

<sup>1</sup> Robinson, *op. cit.*, pp. 118-119.

<sup>2</sup> Robinson, *op. cit.*, pp. 118-119, and Robinson, *op. cit.*, pp. 118-119.

<sup>3</sup> Robinson, *op. cit.*, pp. 118-119.

<sup>4</sup> Robinson, *op. cit.*, pp. 118-119.

<sup>5</sup> Robinson, *op. cit.*, pp. 118-119.

<sup>6</sup> Robinson, *op. cit.*, pp. 118-119.

<sup>7</sup> Robinson, *op. cit.*, pp. 118-119.

<sup>1</sup> Robinson, *op. cit.*, pp. 118-119. Robinson, *op. cit.*, pp. 118-119. Robinson, *op. cit.*, pp. 118-119.

<sup>2</sup> Robinson, *op. cit.*, pp. 118-119.

<sup>3</sup> Robinson, *op. cit.*, pp. 118-119.

<sup>4</sup> Robinson, *op. cit.*, pp. 118-119.



- 595 The posthumous Roman *titulus sanctae Susanna* — attends the school of 495 (M.G.H., *Epistulae*, I, p. 393).
- 682–683 Leo II (682–686), the pious brother Sergius I (687–690) — *in titulo sanctae Susannae quae est domus sanctae* (I.P., I, p. 371).
- 687–701 A bull of Sergius I, addressed to Johannes, *episcopus, et vicarius, et Martinus, clericus Sanctae Susanna*, is preserved in an inscription, only a fragment of which survives today in the church's altar, other fragments, now lost, were used prior to 1850 (1851). It bears his donation to the church of real estate both in and near Rome — and refers to gifts made by others — *in eadem ecclesia sanctae Susanna*. The real estate in town is located "in regione quarta", name of it "*vicula sanctae Susanna*". De Rossi, *op. cit.*, 1850, p. 83 B. In the church, Sergius I replaces the wooden ciborium "sanctae susanna" with a marble canopy (I.P., I, p. 375).
- 722–795 Hadrian I transfers the seat "*in domo tituli sanctae Susannae martyris quae appellatur domus Domini*" (I.P., I, p. 500).
- 799– Leo III, formally presbyter of the *titulus sanctae Susanna*, rebuilds the titulus because of its shabbiness, its dilapidation, and age — *domus habebat antiquitatem, favebat statim per solitum tempus portitae, mansuetione* — and infuses it into a viable structure, providing it anew with a deep and solid foundation — *in amplius largis et adfirmatis et noviter in altum iudicia firmavit, novis parietibus fundamentis* —. He levels a plane and builds on three excellent foundations a church with an apse and a large mosaic, including galleries, a vault (cavea), a channel, a marble pavement — *et intra altarium munitur in aere opes sua fundamenta adfirmatae coelestem nam altaria de marmo amphiorum et marmoreo marmoreo munitur aeneo domo in presbiterio et presbiterio marmoreo pulchro ornata* (I.P., I, p. 376). Silver siles — *sales* with marble columns — *destra laevaeque et patinae quoque solentis marmoreae munitur* —. He adds a baptistry on a baptismal font and donates numerous lighting fixtures, tessels and pieces of furniture of gold and silver (perhaps for the chancel enclosure). Among them is a silver candelabrum below the altar and eight silver columns, two aulus mosaic and two *monachia* with crosses, and lamps (*calathas*) (I.P., II, p. 3).
- The inscription of the apse mosaic, preserved until the rebuilding (1910–1911), similarly stressed the righteousness and the neglected and weakened state of the old structure and the activity of Leo III in building, decorating and consecrating the new construction — *DIVINAE REATIS MIRABILIS MARTYRIS ALEXANDRIS ET PETRO EXISTENS LOCO MAREVERAT QVAE DOMINUS XPII TERTIUS PAPA A FUNDAMENTIS ERIGENS CONDENS CORPUS BEATAE FELICITATIS MARTYRIS APOSTOLI P. FORNICE ORNARI STUPE DEDIDIT* (PANSINO, *Stedieri*, I, 67) (USONIO, *Achademia*, Bull. lat., 1876, I, 274; MANSI, *Op. cit.*, 1855, I, 234; see also ALFANI, *op. cit.*, p. 6; and CASPARI, *Itala Monumenta*, II, p. 14). The figures of Leo III and Charlemagne in the apse mosaic and the placing of the passage in Leo's biography in the *Liber Pontificalis* prior to Charlemagne's coronation of 800 suggest a date between 799 and 800 for Leo's building activity at S. Susanna. In 806 he donates a silver crown weighing 17 pounds and, at a later point, a hanging for the altar (I.P., II, pp. 23, 31).
- 827–844 Gregory IV donates a vase — *ad gloriam... vicinis Susanna... in eadem ecclesia...* (I.P., II, p. 77).
- XI or XII century Inscription above the door — *super porta S. Susanna Felicitatis Sanctae lae mens claudunt remend, phidant. No non Galvus, quoniam sacra coepora laudant* — preserved in the syllog of Giffredo d'Antonio (De Rossi, *Inscriptiones*, II, p. 383).
- 1475–1477 Sixtus IV remodels the church, retaining only the nave and apse and apparently vaulting part of the building, inscriptions, now lost, on the door lintel, "in limine inferiorum" (or superiorum): *STIVS IIII ANNO MILLESIMO CXXXV*, and on the arch of the (chancel?) vault, "in area foras" *Martinus Johannes de Mantua et statio il marino de muro ch'a fatto questa opera del anno de 1477*. Both these inscriptions were noted in the sixteenth century (Rome, Vatican Library, Chigi, I, V, 16, l. 122; copied by COVARELLI, *op. cit.*, p. 61 E; also URBAN, "Kirchenbaukunst", p. 270). See also FRA MARINO DA FIRENZA, *Inscriptionum*, p. 153; "Hanc Sixtus IV anno 1475" (PANSINO) additions to PLATINA, *Vitae Pontificum*, in Colonic, 1720, p. 431, as quoted

<sup>1</sup> I am based on Cop. from the back cover of S. Vigne 190, Rom. 16. 11, 1875, n. 56.

<sup>2</sup> The date 799 is assumed by H. P. W. Baskerville, *Italia Antiqua*, in *L'Arte*, VII, *Revue*, Paris, June 1, 1910, p. 110.

<sup>3</sup> The *Historia Longobardorum*, II, 44, c. 12, Leipzig, 1826, ed. 1879, p. 428, in *Index* of the manuscript of Paul Johnson and Marc

- by Mühlbacher, *cit.*, p. 48, notes and finally Usener, *Index*, p. 1000 — *reconstruimus, spatioque suo usque termino a anno... 799* — *reconstruimus facti* from *Epist. ad Agapitum* anno *reconstruimus* in *reconstruimus*, non *reconstruimus* anno.
- 1586 The church is added to the Gregorian monks' MANSI, *op. cit.*, 1855, I, 234, quoting Romano, *Archivio*, *op. cit.*, *Compendio* (original), S. Susanna 1445, *Itala*, II, 101, no. 247, quoting Romano, 1445.
- 1570–1603 Cardinal Giuliano Rusticucci becomes the church prior in 1570 (USONIO, *Index*, p. 307) — *a nostri tempi l'ha riconsacrato l'arcivescovo...* — and in 1586 to 1591 (possibly) he dates his episcopate of 1586; on the chancel arch of 1590, on the interior facade and on the inside of the apse, dome and of floor, on the outer facade and the north in the pavement of the apse, mosaics. He provides the church with a new facade and redresses the interior with a ceiling, frescoed by Paul Nuzzi, Baldassarre Cusi, and Matteo Zaccarelli and plaster mosaic. He has an open vestibule in front of the high altar, "*de fundamentis supra la portata in marmo*" — *in il' apote in domo, adhibenti mura di pilastre, in le fronselli non dette di marmo* — *che era gran opera ha fatto sotto Tribuna, sotto scalinata e di costructione* — *con loro scultori di marmo, opere il' pavia per il' state a' capi* —. See — PANSINO, *Testi*, *notizie*, *Itala*, I, 121, 129; architect in charge is Carlo Maderno (BASSANI, *Testi*, pp. 66, 67, 108, 116, 119, pp. 81, 136, 106, 254; CASPARI, *op. cit.*, p. 107). The Chapel of Saint Lawrence, projecting on the left side, was designed by Cosimo Nelli and G. B. Pazzi at the expense of Camilla Picci, widow of Sixtus V. BASSANI, *Testi*, *notizie*, pp. 84, 127, 134, pp. 107, 111; PANSINO, *Testi*, *notizie*, 1623, p. 149. To the left of the church, Cardinal Rusticucci builds a monastery for the nuns transferred there in 1587 (100) and to the right, a residence for the use of the bishop and the parish priest (*ibid.*).
- 1938–1939 The lesion adjacent to north flank of church are demolished, temporary enclosing the north wall of the nave, the side wall and Rosen with KARLSTADTER and FRANK, *op. cit.*, p. 105 ff.; GORANSSON, *op. cit.*, p. 115 ff.

## D. GENERAL DESCRIPTION

S. Saba, from Via Vittor Veneto (1914) until 1870, Strada Freg. di Condoliano and Ruffini (1870). Via Salaria, which runs along the base of the Quirinal Hill. The pavement of the Roman street has been raised in the stretch of 1000 m. in front of the church, corresponding in direction to the modern street but 0.84 meters below it, and thus about 3.35 m. below the level of the church floor. The Dome of the church (fig. 210) is a splendid example of Carlo Maderno's Early Baroque



Fig. 210. S. SABA, facade as of today



Fig. 211. S. SABA, INTERIOR

style; bears the definitive inscription of Cardinal Ruffini and the date of completion, 1663. The single doorway is reached by a flight of steps and rises, with its threshold, 1.45 m. above the present level of the street. The front orientation of the church is from southeast to northwest, but for history we shall refer to the doorway as at the east end, the altar at the west end. As we go inside, the church is a simple hall, some 17.5 m. wide and 15.5 m. long, terminated by an apse and having no colonnades or piers (pls. XV, XVI; fig. 211). The rectangular nave is divided into three equal parts by large pilasters, which project from each side wall. Nave and chancel are separated by a triumphal arch which traverses the nave 10.5 m. in front of the apse and rises to an apex only slightly below the ceiling. The chancel is raised three steps above the general level of the nave. Just in front of the choir, side chapels recalling the wings of a transept project outward on each side of the nave: to the left is the Chapel of Saint Lawrence, to the right, that of the Croci-

<sup>1</sup> Giannini, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

fixes. At the foot of the choir steps and on the eastern base of the church, several fragments of mosaic belonged to an epigraphic monument commemorating the reign of the emperor Maximilian. Like the mosaics, is the work of Carlo Maderno and dated about 1660 or 1663.

Excavations beneath the nave and choir (figs. 212 and 213) would have yielded important results from the 1870's, reveal the remains of several buildings of classical origin (the XV, XVI). Other remains, from Roman and later times, can be seen to the south of the church, where Plinius Secundus (fig. V) Basilica were built and the 3rd century attached to the flank of S. Saba. Numerous ancient domes and replaced by the buildings of the Baroque Commission and other edifices. At the same time, classical walls were discovered, and the removal of the original building according to 3 meters high, part of the side wall of the old church and the entire north side wall of the nave, which was more or less composed of three tiers of arches (figs. 212, 213). The entire flank of the church is hollow inside the convent buildings which existed on the site before receiving a reconstruction.

## E. ANALYSIS

## 1. Early structures beneath and beside the church

The remains of classical buildings found under the nave of the church in a basement beneath the nave floor are accessible from the sixteenth century epigraphic evidence. Reports regarding the excavation are wanting<sup>1</sup>, but a number of walls are visible, though in part planar and low. Two distinct levels of construction are noted, with the earlier walls oblique to the alignment of the floor and the later ones parallel to it. Both have been recognized in the 1870's level, about 3 meters below the church floor and thus roughly level with the Roman street pavement in front of the church, 3.25 m. below floor level of XV.

## A. BELOW THE NAVE, EARLY PERIOD

The walls of the early period are faced with a hard, fine sandstone, incrustated by brick at the corners and at the door sills. The remains of the frieze are visible by 50 bricks, the mortar is white and hard, the beds blue. These walls of different sections all at present included in a chamber about 20 m. east of the apse and the nave, but only at a few points to the west of the church; the second is at right angle to the first and contains a doorway the floor is parallel to the second wall at a distance of only 1.15 m. and thus apparently without a corridor. A column base oriented to agree with the earlier system stands east in east of the first wall, at a level of 2.75 m. below the church floor. Later on appears to have such a column base nearby and oriented in the same direction<sup>2</sup>. At the same level a low masonry partition, black with white specks, extends from the first orientation wall to the column base and beyond. There is not enough material for definite conclusions, but we seem to be confronted with a rich succession of first century date.

<sup>1</sup> See the *Monumenti*, Rome, *Monumenti Italiani*, *topografia di Roma*, p. 100.

<sup>2</sup> Though, this masonry the first of these mentioned is level to the ground in the upper part, and second masonry is not professional in S. Saba.

<sup>3</sup> *Monumenti Italiani*, *topografia di Roma*, p. 100.

<sup>4</sup> The walls are found, *Monumenti Italiani*, *topografia di Roma*, p. 100.

<sup>5</sup> See *Monumenti Italiani*, *topografia di Roma*, p. 100.

<sup>6</sup> *Monumenti Italiani*, *topografia di Roma*, p. 100.

<sup>7</sup> *Monumenti Italiani*, *topografia di Roma*, p. 100.

## A) BELOW THE NAVE, SECOND PHASE

A rectangular grid of later walls envelops and overlies the remains of the earlier period (pl. XV). Three parallel walls, reticulate at the base and brick-faced above, lie at right angles to the basilican, 3.5 to 4 m. apart and beginning some 13 m. east of the apse. The reticulate masonry is somewhat coarse, with tesserae ranging from 80 to 105 mm. square and with mortar beds from 15 to 25 mm. thick. On the other hand, the brickwork is good, with bricks ranging from 30 to 40 mm. in height and with mortar beds from 16 to 22 mm. thick, but averaging only 18 mm. The south extremity of the three walls disappears in the footings of the south wall of the basilica, but to the north two of the walls terminate at a cross wall built of brick, parallel with the north side wall of the basilica and 1.5 m. inside it. The third wall continues north into the unexcavated area of the present north chapel. Further east, near and in part below Maderno's façade, a fourth and fifth wall of the same make, but differently oriented, seem to belong to the same building. We shall see that walls of the same orientation as the first three walls in this group and of comparable build were noted in 1938 in the area formerly occupied by the right aisle of the church, as well as further north. The failure of these walls to correspond with the plan of the basilica, although normal to it, shows that they belong to some pre-existing structure which was destroyed when the basilica was built. The walls seem to be mere foundations and cellar walls and offer little information about the buildings which they supported. The combination of brick and reticulate masonry appears to suggest a date in the first third of the second century.

## B) NORTH AND EAST OF THE CHURCH

Behind the apse and passing close to it, a section of the Republican city wall (the Servian Wall), running almost exactly north-south, came to light in 1938 (pls. XV, XVII). Obviously this is an extension of the fragment of the same wall which is still exposed in the garden of Piazza S. Susanna a few meters to the north<sup>1</sup>. The portion of the wall discovered nearer the church consists primarily of a massive *opus quadratum* structure, 2.55 m. thick, faced internally (to the east) with a revetment of *opus incertum*, and subsequently strengthened on the west side by the addition of other parallel walls of brick. Altogether, the final thickness of the wall was not less than 10 m. These remains are found in the sides of a cellar which lies west of the apse, hewn partly out of the ground and partly out of the fabric of the city wall. What remains of the original *quadratum* masonry stands 3 m. high, its topmost course rising to a level which is 1.10 m. below the general level of the church floor. The courses of tufa blocks are 0.60 m. high.

Remnants of later, but still classical, date were uncovered briefly in 1938 to the north of the church, when the old houses adjoining its flank along the Via Regina Elena were demolished<sup>2</sup>. Like the walls below the nave, those along the north flank seem to indicate two distinct strata of occupation, an upper layer which lies at right angles to the church, and an earlier layer which is oblique and therefore more nearly though not perfectly, in alignment with the Republican defenses. The earlier walls are faced either with *opus reticulatum* or with brick, the mortarbeds being quite fine, from 14 to 20 mm. in height. The walls of the upper stratum are brick-faced and

<sup>1</sup> *Storia dell'arte*, II, p. 219, fig. 107, and more generally, *Storia dell'arte*, IX, pt. 1, p. 59.

<sup>2</sup> The last wall (No. 2) in destruction was carried out and the following (no numbers there) preserved made it reasonable to prepare an exact plan. However, M. Wolgast (Frank) through his clearing (1937) succeeded at least in covering a reliable, partial, description of the base, composed of tufa blocks, and in having clear plan (No. 1) (fig. 211 a, b, 211, 215, 216, 217, 218). For this very important result he greatly indebted to his. See also *Storia dell'arte*, IX, pt. 1, p. 301 ff.

Fig. 216. W. BURNETT, SOUTH WALL FOUND, DEMONSTRATION OF BUILDING PHASES, 1938



Fig. 217. S. SUSANNA, NORTH WALL FOUND, DEMONSTRATION OF BUILDING PHASES, 1937

have slightly thicker mortarbeds. Both the earlier and later walls could be traced along the north flank of the nave, extending as far as 17.75 m. from the present nave wall. Other short pieces of Roman walls were seen projecting from the north and west walls of the north chapel and from the north wall of the present nave. Among the earlier remains, a column base was found on the lower level, 2.15 m. below church floor level. Since this is 60 cm. higher than the level of the base that is preserved below the present nave, the two bases could not have belonged to the same colonnade. But they probably belonged to the same house, since a fine black mosaic pavement marked with white specks was seen near the column outside the church, exactly like the pavement still preserved in the area below the nave. The later building, normal to the church, included a



small brick niches 1.00 m. in diameter, facing east and now embedded in the foundations of the nave chapel. Remnants of floors of *opus spicatum* were found at two points in the later building complex, one at a point north of the nave flank and the other embedded in the chancel wall.

Nowhere is enough evidence preserved to arrive at a clear idea of either the earlier or the later buildings which antedate the church on the site. The orientation of the earlier structures was apparently determined by the orientation of the Spanish city wall. The uncaulked fragments of disintegration, including the column bases and the white-speckled mosaic pavements, point to its being a wealthy *domus*, built near and against that wall after it had become obsolete. The later structure, laid out without regard to the old city wall, was perhaps less elegant but it was certainly large.

## 2. The basilica

The two main side walls of the basilica, each originally with three tiers of openings, still exist essentially intact. The north wall was seen almost in its entirety during the excavations of 1938 to 1939 (figs. 212 a, b). Near the apex, the three westernmost bays of its two upper stories are still visible from across the street above the roofs of the adjacent office buildings and can be examined conveniently from the roof terrace on the second floor of these buildings (figs. 219 a, b). Likewise the two easternmost windows of the clerestory tier can be studied near the rear of Maderno's arcade from the third floor roof terraces (fig. 218), while further down in a light shaft, the fourth and fifth of the ground-floor arcades have remained visible. The south wall, too, survives in its full length. The blemishes, from its second original window to the eighth, counting from the facade, is visible from a window across the courtyard (fig. 221). The five westernmost windows near the apex and the clerestory corner can be examined in the attic of the convent buildings (figs. 220 a-d). Likewise, from this attic one notes below the eaves of these windows the crowns of the arches of the second tier openings and, surrounding the apex roof, the rear wall of the nave. The rest of the second and the entire first tier of this south wall are hidden by the buildings of the present sacristy and by the chambers of the convent.

The walls are 1.70 m. high and 0.70 m. thick and show brickwork of excellent workmanship; the courses rise between 22 and 30.5 cm., but the average is about 25.5 to 26.5 cm. The courses are remarkably even with only slight undulations. Occasionally a course shifts from one to two bricks, but such irregularities are rare, as is the use of flanged tiles instead of bricks, and of very thin bricks. On the average the bricks have a height of 3.4 cm. and are very little rubbed at the corners, most are of large size, and they seem to have been new when the walls were built. The mortar contains a large proportion of brick particles which give it a greyish-red hue; the mortar beds range from 1.4 to 2.5 cm. and are struck off flush with the wall face. The arches of the numerous openings are built with single rings of bipedals of uniform size, 59 cm. long and accurately 36 m. radius; in the radial joints between the bipedals, the mortar occasionally is struck off in double facets (figs. 214; 220 a, b, c).

The north wall of the nave rises from a stylobate wall, neatly built of brick of the make just described. It can still be seen in the basement of the church, and its outer face was exposed in 1931 to the entire length during the demolition of the adjacent buildings in 1938 to 1939 (fig. 213). At that time the stylobate wall was exposed to a depth of 3.60 m. below the level of the present nave floor; it was seen to have a setback, 0.15 m. wide and 1.80 m. below nave level, and to terminate 0.90 m. below the modern floor. A sewer, covered *a capbacana* and protected by a flat relieving arch, pierces the lower portion of the stylobate wall ca. 3 m. from the façade. Rising from this upper stylobate, the side wall of the nave shows three tiers of arched openings with their

tem arches in each tier. The original arcades of the lower story rise to an apex 6.45 m. above the brick stylobate (pl. XVI, fig. 219 (right)). They appear to have rested on colonnades, but the columns were no longer to be seen in 1938, and it is not known whether all were removed in the fifteenth and sixteenth century remodelings or whether some still survive inside the blocking masonry. Certainly their bases rested on top of the stylobate and thus were 0.90 m. below the modern nave floor. The number of columns on each side of the nave must have been twelve, carrying thirteen arches, and each column must have been about 5 m. in height. The middle story had thirteen arched openings, 3.40 m. high and 1.60 m. wide, separated by rectangular brick piers, 1.05 m. in width; the thirteen openings of the top story are 2.20 m. high and 1.44 m. wide while the separating piers are each 1.18 m. wide (figs. 214, 218, 219 a, b). About half way between the apex of the middle-story arches and the sill of the upper story—precisely centered on the line between the openings—a row of large, uniform stone brackets, covered with a coria profile, project from the external face of the wall. These evidently supported the beams of a beam-and-rafter covering the galleried aisles of the basilica (fig. 204).

The outer wall of the north aisle was demolished in 1938 to 1939, but measurements and photographs taken at the time show its position and the features of its construction (pl. XV, figs. 216 a, b). It ran parallel to the nave, at a distance of 4.65 m. at its east end, 4.70 m. at its west end, and was built solidly of brick, not of concrete with brick facing. The bricks ranged from 17 to 33 mm. in height, averaging 31 mm.; the mortar beds from 1.4 to 4.0, averaging 2.0 mm.; their height therefore rose to 27, 31x to 32 cm., and the overall impression closely recalls the brickwork of the nave wall. However, the foundation of the aisle wall, instead of being built of brick, as a preference with upper and lower portions, was made of blocks taken from the Servian Wall, so frequently employed in church foundations by eighth and ninth century builders. The aisle wall could be traced from the northeast corner of the original church block through the length of the Cappella del Crocifisso, which projects north from the nave. Two stumps, embedded in the east and west end



FIG. 213. Exterior, north wall in situ, showing foundation of the nave and remains of stylobate (1938).



Fig. 201. S. Simeone. North wall of nave showing the former gallery window (200°).

of the chapel respectively (figs. 216a, b, c, etc.) showed the stopping height of the wall at that point, 2.22 m above the main (red) Dutch brick course of solid brick, with the Serravallo foundation blocks laid in three courses. From the facade, for a somewhat longer distance, the aisle wall was seen to rise even higher, roughly nine meters above the present floor level, thus finishing nearly half the height of the second story of the nave wall (fig. 216d, 217). Along the inner wall of the facade, the slope of the angle roof was marked by an ascending line of hexameters which crossed the nave wall at the present level of the sill of the openings in the third floor (fig. 218, left edge). Besides the north chapel and the apse, a thin foundation wall ran across the width of the former gable. It would seem to have carried a channel sewer.

In view of the data set out in the preceding paragraphs, it is clear that the three tiers of openings in the north wall of the present church represent the ground-floor arcades, the arcaded gallery and the clerestory evidence of a basilica provided with galleries above the aisles; further, that the aisle wall reached to about half the height of the gallery openings and carried a sloping roof which subsided to nearly the level of the window sills on the nave wall.

At the west end of the north wall a curved brick excrecence projects north from the wall face, in line with the jamb of the last gallery arch and the clerestory window above it (figs. 219 a, b, c). The rear wall of the north aisle must have stood in this place and the broken brickwork in the lower part of the projection may be explained as the stump of that wall, but we have no satisfactory explanation to offer for the curved west face of the buttress and the upward continuation of the excrecence above the level of the former gallery roof. Below the projection the wall of the gallery



Fig. 218. S. Simeone. Wall of north aisle (180°).



Fig. 219a. S. Simeone. North chapel from east (190°).



Fig. 219b. S. Simeone. North chapel from east (190°).

seems to continue west, parallel with the axis of the church, but the evidence is scanty. On the other hand, at the east end, or east from the rear of Madonna's facade, a square in the brickwork shows where the original facade corner was broken off in the early sixteenth century (pl. XVI).

The south wall of the nave is hidden on its lower part by the buildings of the convent and of the sacristy. Thus the two lower tiers can no longer be examined. However, in the convent attic, the clerestory zone can be well examined in its westernmost section near the apse. The corner which the clerestory makes with the rear wall of the nave is extraordinarily well built (figs. 220a, b, c, d). The left jamb of the westernmost window of the south clerestory lower zone is from that corner, and below the window emerges the arch of the first opening on the gallery level. Jambes and arches of the following four windows and gallery openings, the north through the thymonid, from the facade are likewise visible, though in part destroyed by later remodeling, or hidden in the mud construction, or — in the case of the window arches — rising above the roof. Width, spacing and height of the window openings correspond to those of the north clerestory. Below the left jamb of the westernmost, or thymonid, window an indented cornice runs vertically through the brickwork, and below this figure a diagonal fissure separates the left third of the gallery arch



Fig. 220. S. Simeone. North chapel (lower portion) from east (190°). (The lower portion of the chapel is hidden by the buildings of the convent.)



Fig. 219. S. Susanna. Rest of Basilica's south clerestory (1934)

from its right hand sector (fig. 206 d). The brickwork is the same on either side and corresponds exactly to that noted throughout the north flank of the nave. The suture and fissure are at first puzzling, but they are easily explained: masons first built the apse, the rear wall of the nave and the adjoining corners of the clerestory; they then continued along the north side, the façade and from there along the south clerestory, until meeting again the westernmost window jamb<sup>1</sup>. Further east the clerestory can be seen above the roof of the convent buildings from across the courtyard south of the church (fig. 221). The visible stretch of clerestory begins above the first of the rectangular sixteenth century windows, at a distance of roughly 2.40 m. from the side buttress at the east of Maderno's façade wall. The spacing and width of the windows, the technique of the brick masonry and the formation of the arches are the same as in the west portion of the south clerestory, examined in the attic of the convent, and in the north clerestory wall. Noteworthy, however, is a noticeable outward bulge in the south clerestory, starting between the fourth and fifth of the original window openings and continuing toward the façade (fig. 222).

The apse which closes the west end of the basilica is decorated internally with Baroque plasterwork; nothing remains of Leo III's mosaic half dome. On the outside only the uppermost part of the original apse wall is visible (fig. 223); its half-cylindrical wall, inside the convent, is plastered over and no window openings, if ever they existed, are discernible. The visible top portion of the apse wall is constructed in brickwork much like that of the nave wall in appearance. At the eaves, it is crowned by a cornice of three overhanging brick courses, supported by a row of projecting stone brackets which in turn rest on a stringcourse formed by two overhanging bricks<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Giovanni Ciampi, *op. cit.* p. 277. Ciampi has observed a difference in the technique of masonry employed in the lower and upper portions of the south clerestory (fig. 219). He also notes certain half-arches and haunches below. He also thought the rear section of the reconstructed apse was built of the same brickwork. Both these observations are correct, as is his conclusion that the stretch of the Basilica's south clerestory wall at the base of the Carini building.

<sup>2</sup> Giovanni Ciampi, *op. cit.* p. 282. Ciampi notes that the cornice is especially noteworthy in character, as a decoration with which we can see definite similarity in the Basilica's foundations for the Carini building. The exterior masonry of the apse at Carini is a construction see *ibidem*, p. 283.



Fig. 219a. S. Susanna. North wall western exterior



Fig. 219b. S. Susanna. North wall western exterior. Detail on gallery level



Fig. 219c. S. Susanna. North wall western exterior detail

The brackets have the same profile as those which supported the aisle roofs; possibly they were rifled from the nearby Baths of Diocletian, where hundreds of the same kind of bracket occur in the corners.

Part of the foundations of the façade wall survives beneath Maderno's façade and is visible in the cellars below the nave floor (pls. XV, XVI). A massive foundation structure, at right angles with the axis of the church and composed of reused Servian blocks with brick-filled interstices, overlies an *opus reticulatum* wall, obliquely set and thus part of the earlier of the two Roman layers discussed. The oversailing foundation wall extends from close to the southeast corner of the nave to beyond its center line for a length of over eight meters, and its building technique is that customary in Rome



Fig. 300. S. Sustina. South wall of nave, (restored), showing masonry and "restoration" work in the area of window.



Fig. 301. S. Sustina. South wall of nave, elevations between tenth and eleventh courses, from sky level, side of church.



Fig. 302. S. Sustina. South wall of nave, (restored), showing window, door, and side area of church.



Fig. 303. S. Sustina. South wall of nave, (restored), double window, blocking in false column.

in Carolingian times. On top of the foundation wall, there lies in cross section a stratum of what appear to be heavy travertine floor slabs, 0.22 m. thick. This floor lies 1.50 m. below the level of the present nave and extends in breadth for 2.20 m. on each side of the axis of the church. It is thus at least 4.40 m. in width — too wide to be part of a door threshold; moreover, it is too low in level. It is also too low to correspond with the original floor of the basilica, which is known from the brick stylobate of the north colonnade to have been not more than 0.90 m. below present floor level. In short, the travertine paving slabs do not seem to belong to the church proper, the

Fig. 304. S. Sustina. South wall, (upper) elevation.



Fig. 305. S. Sustina. Area just behind altar.

Fig. 306. S. Sustina. South (restored) facade, showing false column.

section which is seen in the foundation of the east wall may perhaps be explained as belonging to the narthex outside the east wall, which was grid used by Paronzo.<sup>1</sup>

The Servian foundation blocks are not limited to the east wall of the nave. They continue to the south wall and extend west for a stretch of over four meters, exceeding five feet east of the open *reticulatum* walls of the earlier of the Roman layers. The southeast corner, where the foundations of the south wall of the nave and the facade would have met, is at present not accessible, but the walls are obviously of the same make. On the other hand, below the masonry of the nave, the brick stylobate continues to the northeast corner of the facade (fig. 303).

<sup>1</sup> Paronzo, *op. cit.*, I, 91, 11. "Mura di base mura, etc." Cf. also *Annuario di Storia e Geografia* (1904) fasc. 1, 104.

The outer head of the south aisle has not been identified. We presume it stood as high with the south side of the middle sacristy. So far only one ancient feature has been discovered embedded in this wall; a small column shaft of white marble surmounted by an Ionic capital and above a corbel-shaped impost block with a few bricks of the arch which it once supported (fig. 214). The spring of the arch is only 2.0 m. above floor level, and it seems to be the remains of some small arched opening which once existed in this flank of the south aisle. The impost block is of a type known in fourth century Roman churches<sup>1</sup>, but the type may well have been common still in the fifth century. In any event, the block at S. Susanna is obviously broken and in second use and the brickwork above it is medieval.



Fig. 214. S. Susanna. Wall of south aisle, showing column and spring of arch.

The masonry which seals the original openings in the north side wall of the nave generally consists of rough tufa blocks with occasional brick courses and other fragments of brickwork inserted in the interstices of the tufa<sup>2</sup>. In addition, half piers built of finer rubble, faced with brick and projecting out into the area of the aisle, were added to the blocking masonry in walling up the ground floor arcades. Clearly visible on photographs taken in 1938 (fig. 213), these half piers corresponded to the third column and fourth arcade, the seventh arcade, and the tenth arcade and column. The latter two survive in the west and east walls of the north chapel, where they carry relieving arches (figs. 216 a, b; 217).

While both the north and south projecting chapels are of present rectangular in plan, at least the north chapel was seen in 1938 to have been formerly apsed. The apse opening is sealed up by a flat brick wall; but the rough wall faces which, until 1938, appeared on each side of the round-headed blocking wall were the core of the original apse wall; they were sliced away to make room for adjacent buildings. Our photograph (fig. 212 b) depicts the north side of the church before this mutilation took place and shows the character of the masonry in which the apse was formerly enclosed: coursed rubble composed of brick and tufa fragments, bound at the corners with substantial stone quoins — a type of masonry which was common in the fifteenth century.

<sup>1</sup> *Die Antikenwerke von Laodizea*. Neue Latinsche R. I. 6, 21 (1917), p. 210 ff., esp. no. 1; also also, *V. d. L.*, p. 117, no. 12.

<sup>2</sup> According to figs. 213, 214, it is evident that these arches were broken up in 1731. The character of the blocking masonry makes this statement probable.

## F. RECONSTRUCTION

The several stages through which these buildings have passed can be briefly summarized.

### 1. Antecedent buildings

Originally the site was bounded to the west by the Republican (see half) by the medieval (see), the houses on basins which history has made the wall were successively built from north to south. This wall and its dependent facades were subsequently demolished to make way for new buildings, not in the single in the original layout. However, the first (see), of 1792 and early second century, date, respectively, which successively occupied the area of S. Susanna and outside the scope of our investigations, and their remains are too small for any serious attempt at reconstructing their original plan.

### 2. The basilica

On the other hand, within the walls of the present church, the core of a large hall which retained the second stage survives to a considerable extent in the wall of the apse to the full height, in the flanking walls of the nave with their three corresponding rows of openings, and in the brick nucleus of the north wall of the nave. All these parts, with the exception of the lower blocking of the apertures, are bonded together, including the second bastions at the projecting corners of the nave. They are uniformly built of coursed, faced with excellent new bricks and they are constructed with great care, including the carefully laid transoms of the third tier and the brick system of the rising wall. Only the foundations at the facade in their northern two-thirds, which survive below Maderoni's facade, do not apparently form part of this hall but belong to a later rebuilding.

In attempting to present a graphic reconstruction of this building, the first impression engenders of a single-apsed basilica with flanks pierced by two superimposed rows of openings over a blank stretch of walls that resemble the Constantinian *S. Sabina* at Trastevere. From this impression, though it is, however, the reconstruction must be dissuaded. The replacement of the blank stretch of wall by arcades, while possible, would be difficult to undertake; the arches of these arcades are exactly like those of the upper two tiers of openings, the row of bricks between the second and the third tier is part of the original construction, the row of wall broken off at the edge of the curved buttress reaches to the full height of the second tier of openings, thus suggesting the first wall of an aisle, built to that level and parallel to the nave; finally, the different sizes of the openings in the second and the third tier suggest that they served different functions. Considering all these factors, one must conclude that the building can only have been a basilica consisting of nave and aisles with galleries above the latter.

The basilica has the same orientation as the second Roman church and may make use of some of the preceding walls in its foundations, but this is not certain. It was 35.50 m. (116 R. B.) long and had a nave 13.20 m. (41 R. B.) wide. Colonnades, each of twelve columns with thirteen arches — as they survive in the lowest tier of openings along the north flank of the present church — separated the nave from the aisle and supported the upper stories. The galleries opened onto the nave through thirteen arched openings alternating with rectangular piers, each opening and pier are almost intact in the second tier of the present nave wall. The galleries were raised on stone brackets built into the piers above the level of the gallery arches. Above them ran the clerestory walls, each with thirteen round-headed windows, as seen in the still visible third tier





other reading of the evidence, as set forth in Leo's biography, and in his dedicatory inscription, allows for a different interpretation.

The court biographies of the pope would obviously stress the achievements of his papal master. But in listing these, he refrains from specifying that the church was built *fundamento*. He only states, quite matter-of-factly, an old building existed, but it was " *hinc amplius constructa* ", presumably meaning too narrow rather than too short<sup>1</sup>; it was made wider " *in amplum latiusque* ", the foundation (or a foundation) was made anew, " *noviter* ", obviously suggesting, like the precollegiate statements, the existence of an older building, a terrace was leveled " *terram* " — this is the first unclear statement — and the church was built. Its apse was decorated with a mosaic and the galleries were " *noviter* ", but whether rebuilt or newly added remains open. Against such specific statements, the expression " *a fundamentis incipit* " in Leo's inscription below his mosaic appears but a pale formula of casual courtesy. Thus the documentary tradition does not necessarily contradict the archaeological evidence and a new interpretation of the documents becomes possible in conformity with the latter, roughly along the following lines. An older building occupied the site prior to the time of Leo III, and this older building was a basilica with aisles and galleries, albeit that these latter were narrower than those of Leo III. This first basilica had apparently fallen into disrepair " *constrata* ", " *hinc exilisior facta* ", and appeared narrow " *brevis constructa* ", " *conquiescente* ", either because aisles and galleries were narrow to start with or because they had collapsed and, as a result, the nave arcades had been blocked. Hence, the older basilica was repaired and in part rebuilt by Leo III; the facade was rebounded, the galleries were reconstructed; and the entire church received a splendid new decoration.

The archaeological evidence confirms the hypothesis of a new rebuilding under Leo III. While the north wall of the nave is its entirety (figs. 212, a, b, 218), the apse (fig. 223) and the entire south wall of the nave are built in fourth century technique, the foundation walls beneath the facade, the adjoining short stretch of the left nave wall and the entire foundation wall of the north aisle show the technique customary in Roman building from the late eighth through the middle of the ninth centuries: blocks looted from the Servian wall with brick patches filling the interstices (figs. 216 a, b). These parts of the foundation walls, then, were apparently either rebuilt or reinforced under Leo III. Where they were built or rebuilt entirely, the walls carried by these foundations were presumably also built or new, and we assume this was the case of the wall of the north aisle and of the facade. In other places, however, the original foundations were apparently simply reinforced by the builders of Leo III, and in this case the original upper walls could be preserved. This, we believe happened at the east end of the south nave wall near the facade, where the original clerestory wall survives above a stretch of seemingly Leonian foundation wall, the latter being presumably an original foundation wall strengthened under Leo III by a lining of Servian blocks. However, none of the rising walls of Leo III's building campaign survive; his facade has disappeared, and the wall of the north side was apparently replaced in a thorough rebuilding of the church closing the high Middle Ages.

#### 10. THE SECOND REBUILDING

Evidence of the medieval rebuilding was supplied by the wall of the north aisle, which could be established for a short time in 1938 (R. 215). This wall, indeed, did not show the marks of Carolingian building technique. The coursing is regular, the mortar beds quite even; at first glance

<sup>1</sup> See above, fig. 216a, b.  
<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 191, n. 1.

it seems to resemble the north flank of the fourth century nave. Clearly, it could precede the first reconstruction. The blocks themselves, but obviously all horizontal, are clearly fourth century. Moreover, the wall was not built of concrete faced with brick (it was, as might be seen in fig. 216, of solid brickwork — a characteristic neither of fourth nor of eighth or ninth century construction, but typical for high medieval building in Rome). Hence, the wall was apparently rebuilt in the thirteenth or twelfth century or, the Carolingian foundation after the aisle wall survived by Leo III had collapsed. The small fragment of an arcade at the center south of the north aisle reflects a reuse in the wall of the present nave (fig. 224). Likewise appears its date from this period and, in addition, the same date for some other elements mentioned by Ugazio and Passolunghi: the niches above the facade; an open semicircular floor in the nave; and finally, a channel across which crossed nave and aisles.

#### C. THE THIRD AND FOURTH REBUILDINGS

The third rebuilding of the church, which left only the nave wall, two structural supports and a vault over the sanctuary added, is hardly dated. Inscriptions on the stone portal and on the chancel arch, recorded in the sixteenth century, give the years 1475 and 1481, respectively, as the time of construction. The sixteenth century attributions from Fra Mattino de' Ugazio confirm the remodeling of the church under Sixtus IV.<sup>3</sup> Finally, the characteristics of the channel find their counterpart in other structures created by Sixtus IV, the foundation of the building to the nave only, as in S. Pancrazio and S. Silve Veri (1468), and the total plan of the chancel, as suggested by the apse and transeptal chapels in S. Agostino and S. Maria del Popolo.<sup>4</sup> Since the last remodeling and redecoration, financed by Cardinal Ruffini and extending from 1562 to 1603, is fairly dated by contemporary reports and by the inscription on Madonna Loreta<sup>5</sup>

#### II. HISTORICAL POSITION

An evaluation of the place of S. Susanna in the framework of early Christian and early medieval architecture in Rome depends to a large degree on the date assigned to the underlying core of the present structure. If this core, composed of a nave flanked by aisles and galleries and terminated by a semicircular apse, was as we think created in the fourth century as a large private basilica, it throws new light on the character and range of secular building at the end of the classical period. Basilicas with aisles and galleries, both communicating with the nave through double rather than triple arcades, are so far unknown (or in Roman architecture, never) even in isolated basilicas with galleries become rare after the early third century. On the other hand, the technical features of the nucleus of the structure incorporated here in the church seem to be to point to a fourth century date and to no other. Hence we are compelled to parallel, even the original building is a *basilica legitima*, so far unparallelled but also unimpeachable in fourth century architecture.

The reappearance of the remodeling of the church in the fourth under Leo III is far less exceptional. A counterpart is found in the church of SS. Nereo ed Achilleo near the baths of Caracalla, a basilica with aisles and galleries, built in 300 by Leo III, presumably some years

<sup>3</sup> See above, fig. 216, 218.  
<sup>4</sup> See above, pp. 191 ff. and Vol. IV, p. 111, ff. and a general treatise " *Architettura* " and " *Decorazione* " of 1481.  
<sup>5</sup> 1568, pp. 191 ff. and 201 ff.  
<sup>6</sup> See above, fig. 224, 225.







FIG. 266. S. Lorenzo, Ferrara.



FIG. 267. S. Lorenzo, Braunschweig, view of S. Lambert (1626-1627).

les payments for the rebuilding, apparently the second campaign, dated from 1453 and 1454 and concerning masons work and glass windows, have survived. "Mo Pietro di Giovanni da Varese maestro di mano di dare... per parte del vescovo di santa Theodoro..." per la chiesa di santo Todorano [sic] a [figura di nuovo]"; "Giovanni di Andrea da Firenze che fa le finestre del tetto... per se pigliare uno scudo a l'ora nella chiesa di santo Todorano..."; "Bernardino de' Spilchi per... la porta davanti Todorano [sic]"<sup>1</sup>. This second building was apparently the round structure which stands to this day (figs. 226, 227) and, indeed, the arms of Nicholas V and his initials are set into the two piers of the porch which shelters the portal of the rotunda, in the seventeenth century, his arms were also seen in the gable of the porch and in the interior on the keystone of the ribbed dome<sup>2</sup>. This latter coat of arms was again discovered thirty years ago on the keystone of the nave vault<sup>3</sup>. Under Gregory XIII, a major rebuilding seems to have been

begun<sup>4</sup>, but as trace of it remains, and no source other than Ugolinio sustains this contention. On the other hand, a campaign of restoration undertaken in 1642 to 1643 and financed by Cardinal Francesco Barberini is richly documented by a monograph of Torrigio and by a lengthy poem by one Sebastiano Vannini<sup>5</sup>. The repairs on the structure concerned primarily the clean-

<sup>1</sup> Ugolinio, op. cit. p. 131.  
<sup>2</sup> See Ugolinio, *Restaurazione* [Rome, 1908, p. 2; *Lezioni* di storia di Ferrara, Roma, 1893, p. 10; *Storia della restaurazione di S. Todorano* (sic) (sic) (sic) per la chiesa di S. Todorano, Roma, 1642, p. 10; *Storia della restaurazione di S. Todorano* (sic) (sic) (sic) per la chiesa di S. Todorano, Roma, 1642, p. 10.  
<sup>3</sup> Ugolinio, op. cit. p. 131.  
<sup>4</sup> Ugolinio, *Lezioni*, Roma, 1893, p. 10.  
<sup>5</sup> Ugolinio, *Lezioni*, Roma, 1893, p. 10.  
<sup>6</sup> Ugolinio, *Lezioni*, Roma, 1893, p. 10.  
<sup>7</sup> Ugolinio, *Lezioni*, Roma, 1893, p. 10.

FIG. 268. S. Lorenzo, Ferrara. Exterior facade.



FIG. 268. S. Lorenzo, Ferrara. Exterior facade.



FIG. 269. S. Lorenzo, Ferrara. Interior view of the dome.

ing of the interior and the rebuilding of the roof. In effecting the latter the tiled entrance of the fifteenth century dome (fig. 247) was protected by a two-step roof which left an air space above the center of the dome and below the raised part of the new roof, the octagonal wall carrying this raised part opened in eight oval arches (fig. 248). Inside the spire, the mosaic was thoroughly repaired by G. B. Galandra<sup>6</sup>. A further major remodeling of the church was undertaken in 1793

<sup>1</sup> Ugolinio, *Lezioni*, Roma, 1893, p. 10.  
<sup>2</sup> Ugolinio, *Lezioni*, Roma, 1893, p. 10.  
<sup>3</sup> Ugolinio, *Lezioni*, Roma, 1893, p. 10.  
<sup>4</sup> Ugolinio, *Lezioni*, Roma, 1893, p. 10.  
<sup>5</sup> Ugolinio, *Lezioni*, Roma, 1893, p. 10.  
<sup>6</sup> Ugolinio, *Lezioni*, Roma, 1893, p. 10.

to Clement XI under the direction of Carlo Fontana, who had planned it in 1691. It is mentioned in a 1692 inventory by the first bar workshop, in a dedicatory inscription of the pope and in contemporary guidebooks.<sup>1</sup> The earth which formed the building in the rear, on the slope of the Palatine Hill which had accumulated on the sides and in front, toward Via S. Teodoro, to a such degree in about the sixteenth century level (figs. 237, 238, 239) was dug away; a ditch was opened



Fig. 237. S. Teodoro, Carlo Fontana, plan.



Fig. 238. S. Teodoro, Carlo Fontana, interior section as remodelled.

in the rear and on the sides, walled by a brick wall to protect the church from humidity (fig. 239); in front, a semicircular portico was laid out on the fifteenth century level and thus 2.50 m. below street level; flanked by a pair of contemporary gabled houses, it was accessible by two curved flights of steps. At the rear, to the right hand corner between the chancel and rounda, a sacristy was inserted. Finally, the church interior was modernized (fig. 231); the walls were articulated by elegant pilae, terminating in brackets; the windows and doors were framed with elegant profiles; a cornice was placed in the new palatial order at the springing of the dome; the ribs of the dome of Nicholas V were preserved with broad white bands; and all this was done in stucco. Moreover, the vaulted latrine was removed above the entrance, accessible from the second floor of the house to the right of the courtyard; new doors were installed in the chancel and on the transverse axis of the rounda, and the name of Clement XI was scattered all over the interior. Later restoration cam-

pared with the 1875 studies in the plans of the church (2, were apparently limited to scope, ultimately, in this last campaign the eighteenth century aspect, with extension). That the building has come down to us more or less as remodelled by Carlo Fontana.

The history of the church, and in particular its rebuilding under Nicholas V, seem to be known to the antiquarians of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Nevertheless, as well as the latter

part of the sixteenth century, the opinion took root among antiquarians and the general public that the rounda was an antique temple, either of Faunus Quirinus Vulcanus or Romulus<sup>2</sup> and only consecrated as a church either by Pope Felix III (267-270) or by Theodorus I (678-692).<sup>3</sup> This interpretation, obviously influenced by Leone Battista Alberti's thesis regarding the generally round shape of temples,<sup>4</sup> stemmed from the belief attributed to by early sixteenth century antiquarians that the church occupied the site of a Roman temple.<sup>5</sup> The interpretation of S. Teodoro as a temple reconsecrated as a church has occasionally survived to our own day. Moreover, the situation has not been helped by the discovery, postulated more recently, in the efforts that S. Teodoro was built as a round church in Early Christian times, possibly in the seventh century.<sup>6</sup> None of these hypotheses is unambigu-



Fig. 239. S. Teodoro, view of architectural form, Palatine Hill, 1927.

Certainly the rounda proper dates in its entirety from the reign of Nicholas V, only the apse with its mosaic and perhaps part of the chancel bay are of Early Christian date. The sculpture in the building is there the trace of a classical or late classical structure.

Indeed, excavations on the slope of the Palatine Hill, just north of and behind by Fontana, have brought to light the remains of a classical building. The north end of a semicircular porticoed courtyard has been found, adjoining to the north the rear wall of the "Theatrum Dei ANTONII," and of S. Maria Antiqua (figs. 232, 233). Rows of columns run along the north and east sides of the courtyard; but its extension, or indeed, that of the complex in which it belonged, is uncertain below and possibly beyond S. Teodoro remains thus far unknown.<sup>7</sup> However, from architectural, the

<sup>1</sup> The description of 1692, mentioned in a catalogue in the volume of the Commissione di Roma, concerning various buildings in Rome, pp. 161-162.

<sup>2</sup> Livius, III, p. 16; Robt. Ross, *Italy in 1600*, Florence, 1902, p. 171.

<sup>3</sup> Robt. Ross, *Italy in 1600*, Florence, 1902, p. 171.

<sup>4</sup> Alberti, *De re aedificatoria*, VII, c. 16, p. 16, c. 16.

<sup>5</sup> Livius, *De re aedificatoria*, VII, c. 16, p. 16, c. 16.

<sup>6</sup> Livius, *De re aedificatoria*, VII, c. 16, p. 16, c. 16.

<sup>7</sup> Livius, *De re aedificatoria*, VII, c. 16, p. 16, c. 16.

<sup>8</sup> Livius, *De re aedificatoria*, VII, c. 16, p. 16, c. 16.

<sup>9</sup> Livius, *De re aedificatoria*, VII, c. 16, p. 16, c. 16.

<sup>10</sup> Livius, *De re aedificatoria*, VII, c. 16, p. 16, c. 16.

<sup>11</sup> Livius, *De re aedificatoria*, VII, c. 16, p. 16, c. 16.

<sup>12</sup> Livius, *De re aedificatoria*, VII, c. 16, p. 16, c. 16.

<sup>13</sup> Livius, *De re aedificatoria*, VII, c. 16, p. 16, c. 16.

<sup>14</sup> Livius, *De re aedificatoria*, VII, c. 16, p. 16, c. 16.

<sup>15</sup> Livius, *De re aedificatoria*, VII, c. 16, p. 16, c. 16.

<sup>16</sup> Livius, *De re aedificatoria*, VII, c. 16, p. 16, c. 16.

<sup>17</sup> Livius, *De re aedificatoria*, VII, c. 16, p. 16, c. 16.

<sup>18</sup> Livius, *De re aedificatoria*, VII, c. 16, p. 16, c. 16.

<sup>19</sup> Livius, *De re aedificatoria*, VII, c. 16, p. 16, c. 16.

<sup>20</sup> Livius, *De re aedificatoria*, VII, c. 16, p. 16, c. 16.

<sup>21</sup> Livius, *De re aedificatoria*, VII, c. 16, p. 16, c. 16.

<sup>22</sup> Livius, *De re aedificatoria*, VII, c. 16, p. 16, c. 16.

<sup>23</sup> Livius, *De re aedificatoria*, VII, c. 16, p. 16, c. 16.

<sup>24</sup> Livius, *De re aedificatoria*, VII, c. 16, p. 16, c. 16.

<sup>25</sup> Livius, *De re aedificatoria*, VII, c. 16, p. 16, c. 16.

<sup>26</sup> Livius, *De re aedificatoria*, VII, c. 16, p. 16, c. 16.

<sup>27</sup> Livius, *De re aedificatoria*, VII, c. 16, p. 16, c. 16.

<sup>28</sup> Livius, *De re aedificatoria*, VII, c. 16, p. 16, c. 16.

<sup>29</sup> Livius, *De re aedificatoria*, VII, c. 16, p. 16, c. 16.

<sup>30</sup> Livius, *De re aedificatoria*, VII, c. 16, p. 16, c. 16.

complex can be identified as the Horrea Agrippiana.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, its original parts, built of large tufa blocks, can be dated some time between the end of the Republic and the rule of the Flavians; thus, it was quite possibly founded by Agrippa. At a later point, presumably ca. 200 A.D., the courtyard was remodeled, an enclosure was erected inside, its exterior wall articulated by an order of small pilasters, in the center of the enclosure a small *aedilium* was placed, and it is here that the identi-



Fig. 243. S. Teodoro. Plan of church, *area*, and later remodeling.

fyne inscription was found, dedicating the sanctuary to the "GENUS HORREORUM AGRIPPIANORUM," and, east of the eastern row of cellae, on a higher level up the slope of the hill, other structures were added. All these structures are built in a brick technique roughly of the time of the Severan emperors.<sup>2</sup> Finally, at a much later date, the entire enclosure was filled with small constructions, some *tabernae*, others living quarters, one a fountain.<sup>3</sup> All are poorly built, of *opus incertum*, of brick or of *tegulae* only, with their walls placed directly on the original pavement of the courtyard (fig. 231). They have been dated in the Middle Ages,<sup>4</sup> but also in the fourth and in the fifth centuries.<sup>5</sup> Since an inscription from a sanctuary of the Magna Mater was used as build-

<sup>1</sup> Notomus, *Giardini*, 97 (1910), p. 15; B. Banti, *op. cit.*, p. 121 ff.; and 1902, 23; Banti, "L'edilizio degli Horrea Agrippiana," *Palazzo*, 10, 3 (1923), pp. 149-57.

<sup>2</sup> Notomus, *Giardini*, 97 (1910), p. 25; B. Banti, *op. cit.*, p. 121 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Banti, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Banti, *op. cit.*, 1910, p. 144 ff.; *ibid.*, 1902, p. 121.

<sup>5</sup> Banti, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

ing material, they certainly cannot date prior to the late fourth century. But the kind of *opus caementicium* is hard to locate in time, and the construction, all or in part, may have been finished just as well in the sixth or seventh as in the fourth or fifth centuries.

S. Teodoro occupies the south part of the courtyard, and it is possible that a "fine barrel vault" supposedly found below the apse belonged to one of the *tabernae* in its early form.<sup>6</sup> However, contrary to the opinion maintained by Bandini and De Rossi,<sup>7</sup> we cannot find in the masonry wall any trace of Roman or Early Christian masonry.<sup>8</sup> Indeed, its walls are built with small, broken bricks, probably antique spolia, laid in cross-hatched courses with the occasional addition of a fragment of marble or tufa (fig. 245, a-b). Parts of the external wall face are resorted to thin plates of brick incised in imitation of *falsa mura*. The spolia of the masonry together with the fact that heavy openings were covered by pointed arches, leaves no doubt that the rotunda is entirely of fifth-century date. The vaulted porch spanned by a single arch of roughly un-kepiated masonry, which seem to date from the Romanesque period but fit its marble keystone perfectly in size on which the characteristic outline of Nicholas V's cartouche is recognizable although the sculpture has been defaced. Below, two intact shields of the same period have been built into the brickwork but so they are not *in situ* they have no value as evidence of date.

At the rear of the rotunda (fig. 246) the fifth-century brickwork projects a wing wall on either side of the apse; the brickwork of the wing wall below will still form of the rotunda, leaving little doubt that the two are contemporaneous. The brick wall wing projects about 0.75 m. from the rotunda wall, after which the brickwork enters in a vertical line, and its plane is taken for an additional 1.5 m. by a wall of tufa rubble (*opus caementicium*) which appears to have been built in Eusebia in the construction of his crypts.

However, two elements in the chancel of the church antedate the fifth-century. The first is a brick arch, partly masked by Eusebia's rubble wall, standing south of the apse and close to its curved wall (fig. 250). The arch springs from the unknown point which, however, coincides roughly with the southeast corner of the chancel bay. From there it springs but toward the slope of the hill, with a diameter of approximately 4 m.; it runs parallel with, but about 2 m. south of the axis of the church. The arch is built of fairly calligraphic bipedales, and it seems to be a fragment of some autochthon structure. It may date perhaps from the fifth century, since its brickwork recalls that found in the clerestory walls of S. Maria Maggiore, S. Sabina of S. Lorenzo of Lucina.<sup>9</sup> The arch, then, appears as being of some structure, possibly linked to a remodeling



Fig. 245. S. Teodoro. One masonry wall of *opus caementicium* in detail.

<sup>6</sup> Banti, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

<sup>7</sup> Bandini, *op. cit.*, p. 107; De Rossi, *op. cit.*, p. 121 ff.; Banti, *op. cit.*, p. 121 ff.; Banti, *op. cit.*, p. 121 ff.

<sup>8</sup> De Rossi, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

<sup>9</sup> See also Notomus, *op. cit.*, p. 121 ff.; Banti, *op. cit.*, p. 121 ff.

<sup>10</sup> See also Notomus, *op. cit.*, p. 121 ff.

<sup>11</sup> See also Notomus, *op. cit.*, p. 121 ff.

<sup>12</sup> See also Notomus, *op. cit.*, p. 121 ff.

<sup>13</sup> See also Notomus, *op. cit.*, p. 121 ff.

<sup>14</sup> See also Notomus, *op. cit.*, p. 121 ff.

<sup>15</sup> See also Notomus, *op. cit.*, p. 121 ff.

<sup>16</sup> See also Notomus, *op. cit.*, p. 121 ff.

<sup>17</sup> See also Notomus, *op. cit.*, p. 121 ff.

<sup>18</sup> See also Notomus, *op. cit.*, p. 121 ff.

<sup>19</sup> See also Notomus, *op. cit.*, p. 121 ff.

<sup>20</sup> See also Notomus, *op. cit.*, p. 121 ff.

<sup>21</sup> See also Notomus, *op. cit.*, p. 121 ff.

<sup>22</sup> See also Notomus, *op. cit.*, p. 121 ff.

<sup>23</sup> See also Notomus, *op. cit.*, p. 121 ff.

<sup>24</sup> See also Notomus, *op. cit.*, p. 121 ff.

<sup>25</sup> See also Notomus, *op. cit.*, p. 121 ff.

<sup>26</sup> See also Notomus, *op. cit.*, p. 121 ff.

<sup>27</sup> See also Notomus, *op. cit.*, p. 121 ff.

<sup>28</sup> See also Notomus, *op. cit.*, p. 121 ff.

<sup>29</sup> See also Notomus, *op. cit.*, p. 121 ff.

<sup>30</sup> See also Notomus, *op. cit.*, p. 121 ff.

<sup>31</sup> See also Notomus, *op. cit.*, p. 121 ff.

<sup>32</sup> See also Notomus, *op. cit.*, p. 121 ff.

of the floor above it corresponds with the axial system of the latter, and is a decidedly earlier than the apex of the church.

The apse is the second early element. It stands immediately behind the arch, and seems to be anchored to the support from which springs the west foot of the arch. Its wall is built in a masonry very different from that of the arch—very small broken bricks intermingled with occasional *tuffilli*. The floor is badly decayed and difficult to date by the technique of construction, the nearest analogy known to us seems to be the eleventh-century walls of S. Maria in Cosmedin (172-205<sup>1</sup>), but this sur-



Fig. 210 S. Theodoros Northeast position and north apse



Fig. 211 S. Theodoros Northwest position

of masonry might be expected to occur in Roman buildings of any date from the sixth to the eighth century. It is possible that two doors opened in the wall of the apse<sup>2</sup>; but at present they cannot be identified. The mosaic in the apse vault, while repaired in large part in 1643 to 1644, still largely retains its original Early Christian character in both iconography and style. An enthroned Christ is flanked by Saints Peter and Paul, who introduce, respectively, a bearded saint clad in a military and a youthful saint wearing a short tunic and offering a crown. The youthful saint's head was entirely, his figure almost completely, restored in the seventeenth century.<sup>3</sup> Of the two figures, the one with Saint Peter may be Saint Theodore of Amasaea<sup>4</sup>; the other one could be either Saint Theodore too or Saint George.<sup>5</sup> The figures are still and only slightly modeled; the heads are narrow and stylized, and the eyes are extraordinarily large. But the ornament at the bottom of the vault shows a line, if stylized, tendril design. They have been compared with the figures in the mosaic of SS. Cosma e Damiano, which dates from 526 to 530; hence a date near the middle of the sixth century has been proposed.<sup>6</sup> We incline toward a later date, either the latter part of the sixth century<sup>7</sup> or, preferably, the years around 600. This is also the date which we would like to assign to the building of the church of which the apse is the last surviving remnant.

<sup>1</sup> See above, vol. II, p. 281.

<sup>2</sup> The information conveyed by Callixtus' text (p. 216) we have been unable to verify.

<sup>3</sup> The dates of the seventeenth-century restoration advanced at length by Meyerson (op. cit., p. 1) are all illustrated in pl. 10.

<sup>4</sup> See, p. 175 ff.

<sup>5</sup> See, p. 180.

<sup>6</sup> See, above, *Corpus Basilicarum*, I, p. 100 (note 1), p. 122.

Regarding the plan of this throned church, next to nothing is known. We can only infer, more readily stated than the present church was built by Nicholas V. according to the plan (see page 16), the first to have begun, and that the first church of Nicholas used the old foundations, probably those of the original church. Hence one would assume this original church extended into the area of the present forecourt. Another clue may be given by the arch visible in the apse. The unusual construction of the two elements could be explained if we were to suppose that the arch

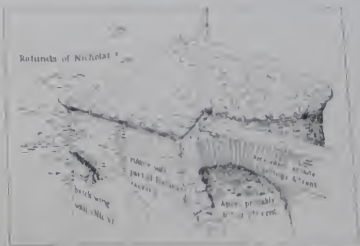


Fig. 212 S. Theodoros. West wall, arch and apse, seen from the south

was a member of an arcade which formerly contained walls, enclosing the area of the present forecourt. If so, the pre-existing arches might have been adopted by the builders of the church at the right hand arcade of a small basilica (S. C.). But it is equally possible that these arches were walled up and that the church was therefore without aisles, or, for that matter, that the arcade never continued west of the one surviving arch. In short, the elements known are insufficient for any definite suggestion.

A date about 600 for the building of the church would also comply with what is known about the establishment of *basilicae* in Rome. While such vestige centers are mentioned in documentary sources outside Rome in the sixth century—in the Near East since the first half of the century, in Naples, Pesaro, and Ravenna under Gregory the Great (590-604)—in Rome, *basilicae* are referred to by name for the first time in the late seventh century and cited thereafter.<sup>8</sup> However, both documentary and archeological evidence attest to their existence in Rome also as early as the sixth, and the early seventh centuries though that name is not yet used. In 590 Gregory of Tours refers to *basilica ecclesiae* established in the city<sup>9</sup>, and these are mentioned again, particularly under Pope Sabaudianus (604-606),<sup>10</sup> the "Diocesan Hall" at S. Maria in Cosmedin, the core of that

<sup>8</sup> See above, p. 170, note 1.

<sup>9</sup> *Le Liber Historiarum*, I, cap. 11, § 10. Cf. Seeck, *Gregorius der Große*, I, 100 ff. (Gregory's letters, see above, p. 170, note 1).

<sup>10</sup> *Idem*, I, 100 ff. p. 101.

<sup>11</sup> Seeck, *Gregorius der Große*, I, 100 ff. (Gregory's letters, see above, p. 170, note 1).

<sup>12</sup> Seeck, *Gregorius der Große*, I, 100 ff. (Gregory's letters, see above, p. 170, note 1).

<sup>13</sup> Seeck, *Gregorius der Große*, I, 100 ff. (Gregory's letters, see above, p. 170, note 1).

<sup>14</sup> Seeck, *Gregorius der Große*, I, 100 ff. (Gregory's letters, see above, p. 170, note 1).

<sup>15</sup> Seeck, *Gregorius der Große*, I, 100 ff. (Gregory's letters, see above, p. 170, note 1).

... remains, with both not later than 590<sup>1</sup> and the fresco of the Seven Sleepers in one of the cellae that comprise the domical S. Martin in Via Lata, dates from the early seventh century.<sup>2</sup> The domus of the Palatine, which shared about two and thus contemporaneous with its church, would fit well into this last period of burning. Like them it copies a Roman *horrea* complex, in the case of S. Maria in Cosmedin's wall remains. Like them, the *domus* of S. Trovaso included a church building, apparently quite stable. And as in most other *domus*, the pre-existing *horrea* was in part merely utilitarian as a storeroom, in part remodelled to that end. In fact, we venture to suppose that the structure is built of an uncertain though late date were installed inside the second of three octagonal structures in the same courtyard (figs. 242, 233, 234; below) to the remodeling of the *domus* facing its *domus* entrance.

<sup>1</sup> See above, XII ff., p. 202.

<sup>2</sup> See above, XII ff., p. 202.

## S. VALENTINO

R. Krauthammer, N. Corbelli \*

## A. BIBLIOGRAPHY

- SEITZELL, "Memoria sull'importanza dei monumenti ... nei cimiteri cristiani di Roma", *Disc. Istit. Istit.*, 2 (1824), p. 41 ff., esp. 64 f.
- SAVIGNY, "L'habitation de l'antiquité italienne ... nella chiesa di S. Severino in Capite", *ibid.*, 3 (1826), p. 220 ff.
- MARUCCI, "Rapport on epitaphic found in open air cemetery", *B.A.C.*, ser. III, 3 (1830), p. 68 ff.
- MARUCCI, "La cripta sepolcrale di S. Valentino sulla Via Flaminia", *Gli Studi in Italia*, 1 (1878), pp. 400 ff., 651 ff., 805 ff., reprinted *Roma*, 18, 81.
- MARUCCI and GATTI, "Rapport on excavation, V. et. II., 1880", pp. 440 ff., 500 ff., 629 ff., 701 ff., 730 ff., 1089 ff., p. 106 ff. (cited hereafter as MARUCCI-GATTI, 1880 and 1889).
- MARUCCI, "Le recenti scoperte presso il cimitero di S. Valentino sulla via Flaminia", *Bull. Com. G.* (1880), pp. 240 ff., 429 ff.
- FORBES, "The Church of St. Valentin at Rome", *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* (in Rome), 45 (1889), p. 374 ff.
- MARUCCI, "Das Coemeterium und die Basilika des H. Valentin zu Rom", *R. Q. Schr.*, 3 (1889), pp. 13 ff., 114 ff., 305 ff., esp. 332 ff., 4 (1890), p. 149 f.
- MARUCCI, "Il cimitero e la basilica di S. Valentino ... Roma, 1890 (cited hereafter as MARUCCI, 1890).
- ARMELLINI, *Gli antichi cimiteri cristiani ... Roma*, 1894, p. 15 ff., esp. p. 167 ff.
- MARUCCI, "Di alcune recenti scoperte ... sulla Via Flaminia", *Bull. Com. G.*, 33 (1895), p. 300 ff.
- MARUCCI, "Di una sconosciuta iscrizione Damasciana in onore del martire Valentino", *N.B.A.C.*, 11 (1895), p. 104 ff.
- HULSEN, *Chiese*, 1897, p. 496 f.
- MARUCCI, "Scoperta di antichità Cristiane nell'area della Basilica suburbana di S. Valentino", *Bull. Com. G.*, 35 (1897), p. 261 ff.
- MARUCCI, "Ulteriori osservazioni sulle antichità cristiane ... della Via Flaminia", *ibid.*, 36 (1898), p. 110 ff.
- MARUCCI, *Catambræ*, 1933, p. 285 ff.
- STYVER, *Katakomben*, 1933, p. 254 ff.
- STYVER, *Martyrergäfte*, 1935, p. 251 ff.
- ARMELLINI-CRUCIFELLI, *Chiese*, 1947, p. 1044 ff.
- APOLLONI GIUFFRÈ, "Nuove indagini sulla basilica di S. Valentino", *R.A.C.*, 25 (1948), p. 171 ff.
- FERRARI, *Monumenti*, 1957, p. 336 ff.

## B. ANCIENT DESCRIPTIONS AND ILLUSTRATIONS \*

## I. ANCIENT DESCRIPTIONS.

- ROMA, *Roma Sotterranea*, 1639, pp. 576 ff., 1650, p. 525 f.
- ARMELLINI, *Roma Sotterranea*, II, p. 349 ff.
- BOLDRINI, *Osservazioni sopra il Cimitero di S. Martin*, Roma, 1720, p. 576 f.
- SIEVEKENS, *Schedaria*, Rome, Vatican Library, Vat. Lat. 10637, f. 188 ff. (includes bibliographical notes).

\* Research assistance: ROSSALE MARIANO.

\* Some Marucci's publications are reprinted; see brief references to the bibliography of 1890 in citing his work.

\* The names dei cimiteri di Roma, Anagni and Bobbio. Real paintings with the "cimitero di S. Valentino" and "cimitero di S. Maria". Early some ruins of the church, presumably they refer to one of the three (originally numbered 1895) terminating the sales. Boldrini refers to the marble as well.



## D. GENERAL DESCRIPTION

The catacomb of S. Valentin<sup>1</sup> lies under the northwest precipice of Monte Parioli, about 1.5 km. outside Porta del Popolo, on the right side of the Via Flaminia and Viale Tiziano, as one travels north and turns into Viale Pilsudski. Rediscovered by Bonai in 1599, it was visited throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.<sup>2</sup> Its major point of interest was some wall paintings, presumably of seventh century date, in a vesicle-like chamber near the entrance to the lower floor of the catacomb. This lower floor has been convincingly assigned to the third century, perhaps to its first half. However, the entrance chamber certainly represents an enlargement of the original catacomb galleries and is of later, though possibly fourth century, date. Yet it remains in doubt whether it or the seventh century wall paintings replace an earlier decoration.<sup>3</sup> Bessio also saw near the catacomb entrance remains which he believed were the church of S. Valentin<sup>4</sup> and in 1720 Baldetti could still see the frescoed walls of the church or rather, of its side chapel.<sup>5</sup> These apparently disappeared, but in the 1870's and 1880's, the remains of several mausolea, 9.5 m. south of the entrance to the catacomb, were found, as well as the ruins of the walls and apse of the church, forty-odd meters from the catacomb. Remnants of an open air cemetery west of the mausolea and extending south below the area of the church were also discovered. Most of the mausolea are no longer visible, and only a small part of the remains of the church has been kept accessible, in a rectangular, sunken, open air enclosure at the foot of the cliff of Monte Parioli (pl. XVIII; figs. 233, 237 a, b). The apse, at the east end, was scooped out of the cliff. Its remains, first identified in 1877-1878, further explored in 1888 and finally uncovered again, surveyed and photographed by Apollonio Ghetti (fig. 239) are now buried under a landslide. A *crypta* in the form of a transverse corridor, parallel with the chancel of the apse, was provided with a modern roof in 1808 and is fairly well preserved (figs. 234, 236); it is entered through doorways to the north and south which open into what were formerly the aisles of the basilica. West of the crypt, about ten meters of the length of the nave remain open to view in the excavated area. Not all of the few exposed column bases are *in situ*, but all are now collocated on the original stylobate (figs. 237, 243 a, b). To the north stand the remains of a rectangular chamber with a small eastern apse; presumably it was once the east end of the north aisle. The south aisle is entirely buried by accumulated debris, while the west part of the nave, outside the fenced enclosure, is buried at least one meter below the adjacent road, the Viale Pilsudski.

<sup>1</sup> Bessio, *Roma sotterranea*, 1762, p. 276; 1869, pp. 10, 53; by Anonimo, *Roma Antiquaria*, II, p. 349 ff.; Bonai, *op. cit.*, p. 326 f.; *Lezioni di storia ecclesiastica*, Roma, 1880, p. 318. See also MARIANI, *op. cit.*, "La cripta sepolcrale," 1898, *passim*; *Insula*, 1899, pp. 247-248; *Ateneion*, p. 30; *Il Secolo*, *Kathimeron*, p. 104 ff.; *Italia*, *Monumenti*, I, 214 ff.

<sup>2</sup> The wall paintings in this seventh century chamber are known from Bessio's engravings, cited above, p. 300. They date in the conventional chronology at least from Maximianus (323-328). "La cripta sepolcrale," 1898, pp. 18 and 21. In dating the catacomb, the following authorities are cited: *Ateneion*, 1899, p. 247 f.; originally assigned to the seventh century since the middle of the third century, in *Ateneion*, 1899, p. 247; *Italia*, *Monumenti*, I, 214 ff.; *Il Secolo*, *Kathimeron*, p. 104 ff.; *Lezioni di Storia ecclesiastica*, 1880, p. 318; *Il Secolo*, *Kathimeron*, "possibly prior to the time of Diocletian," and thus apparently of the late third or the early fourth century, in *Ateneion*, 1899, p. 247. In its walls he assigned it somewhat vaguely to a "time when burial in catacombs was still common," comparing it with the technique of engraving of catacomb galleries into marble, cited in S. Schiavone, S. Felice and S. Gervasio, ed. *Ateneion*, fourth and fifth editions (1909). He also suggested that the relics of S. Valentin were placed in this tomb in an altar in the crypt of the chamber, abandoned by earlier work, *Ateneion*, p. 255. It is assumed they were transferred to the church as early as 380 or 390.

<sup>3</sup> Bessio, *Roma sotterranea*, 1762, p. 276. "Insula," *Ateneion*, p. 318. "1720 alcune reliquie della Chiesa di S. Valentin: nel stesso parterre, le quali furono dal signor Baldetti trasportate," Baldetti, *op. cit.*, p. 370. "A par S. Giulio, Papa (1), edificata chiesa sua Chiesa," *Ateneion*, 1899, p. 248. *Insula*, *Ateneion*, *Italia*, *Monumenti*, *Il Secolo*, *Kathimeron*, *Lezioni di Storia ecclesiastica*.

## E. ANALYSIS

The ancient church and adjacent buildings were excavated by O. Marzocchi in 1877 and 1878 and systematically explored in 1888.<sup>6</sup> About fifteen meters south of the area (figs. 239, 240), Marzocchi discovered a row of pagan mausolea at the foot of the Parioli precipice (pl. XVII; figs. 243, 249). In the same area, extending below the mausolea and below the north aisle and nave of the church, an open air cemetery was uncovered. It was not possessed in the center of the crypt.

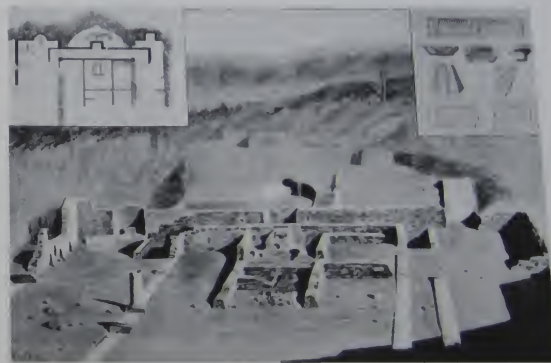


Fig. 237. S. Valentin. Remains of fourth century mausoleum of Massimo.

tion, but the reports published at the time give a reasonable chain picture.<sup>7</sup> Of the several layers of graves, the lower one, apparently pagan, has been assigned to the second or third century; the upper one is Christian and its epitaphs range in date from 310 to 323.<sup>8</sup> The mausolea and the pagan layers of the cemetery antedate the Christian construction, but the Christian graves were obviously associated with both the catacomb and the church which later rose on the hill. Like the cemetery, the mausolea are known only from the reports of the excavators,<sup>9</sup> apparently they were partly hewn from the rock, rectangular in plan and contiguous to one another. The building material is described as tufa and brick, presumably it was *opus testaceum*. The northwestern mausoleum measured about 4 m. by 4.5 m. internally, the next one was 2.5 m. square and the

<sup>6</sup> MARZOCCHI, 1888, pp. 106, 107, 108; *Ateneion*, 1899, p. 249.

<sup>7</sup> MARZOCCHI, 1888, pp. 106, 107, 108; *Ateneion*, 1899, p. 249.

<sup>8</sup> For bibliography, see above, fig. 183, and generally MARZOCCHI, 1888, pp. 106, 107.

<sup>9</sup> MARZOCCHI, 1888, pp. 106, 107, 108; *Ateneion*, 1899, p. 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255.



ward wall is 2 m. in thickness (fig. 237). Each of the three large openings in the west wall had a small apse (fig. 238). In the center of the east wall they all were apparently furnished with orthostates (fig. 239). South of the third of these mausolea, Marucchi found a rectangular compartment measuring 2 m. from north to south and 6 m. from east to west; no niche was found, not in the position of an entrance known. To the south of this chamber was an area 3 or 4 m. wide, it may have been a mausoleum that is now lost. It was bounded to the south by a

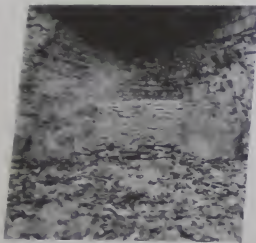


FIG. 238. S. Vahanian. The mausoleum, apse and their block.

FIGURE 2. Vahanian. Small apse (opisthodomion) and lower apse wall (basilica) during excavation of the Basilica.



FIG. 239. East wall of the crypt corridor.

wall parallel with the wall of the chamber and, like it, 0.60 m. in thickness. This appeared to Marucchi to be the north side wall of the church. The east and west boundaries of the four-meter space are not known.

The 2.60 m. wall which Marucchi accepted as the wall of the north aisle of the basilica is still visible; it is built of an *opus listatum* in which single courses of brick alternate with two and occasionally three courses of tuffelli. It may have been built originally as the south wall of the postulated but unexcavated basilica, but it was used as the north wall of yet another mausoleum, apparently rectangular in plan, which we shall call the north mausoleum, in reference to its relation to the church. The north mausoleum measures 7.40 m. from north to south; it is bounded on the east by a wall parallel to the common rear wall of the three niched mausolea described above, but about 5.50 m. east of it. The entire east wall and part of the north and south walls of the cella survive (fig. 237); all three are of the same *opus listatum*. They are bonded together at the southeast corner, but in the northeast corner it seems that the east wall was built against the north wall, that is, against the former south wall of the postulated lost mausoleum. In 1962 the south wall of the north mausoleum was visible east of the crypt corridor. This area is now buried under fallen earth, but the wall reappears inside the east wall of the crypt corridor, where both the core of the *opus listatum* and its foundation are visible in section (fig. 239a). This foundation is as high as 1 m. and is

composed of rough stone blocks. It appears again on the same plan of the same covering. A somewhat smaller niche, 0.55 m. wide, opens near the middle of the east wall of the north mausoleum (fig. 238). When uncovered, the undisturbed lines of floor levels and the presence of an *opus listatum* plaster surface (see fig. 240) are probably of considerable date.<sup>1</sup> Under only the main floor there is a rectangular masonry block, apparently an altar, built of small blocks of all sizes, some mortar beds about 0.025 m. thick (figs. 237, 238). It measures 0.95 by 0.61 m.<sup>2</sup> and its rear wall stands but 0.50 m. west of the apex of the niche. It was built at a time when the level of the niche was 0.20 m. above the original floor, since up to that level its footing was apparently built against earth fill. Indeed, it was set up after the walls of the niche had received their plaster coat, and clearly mass could be elaborated only with the plaster facing outside.

The opus listatum of the north mausoleum is unlike any of the masonry found elsewhere in the church; also its walls rise on a base which rises 0.75 m. above the floor level of the basilica,<sup>3</sup> the latter being indicated by the first column base of the north nave colonnade. Differing with Marucchi's<sup>4</sup> view, we deduce that the niched chamber was originally built as an independent mausoleum. Only later was it incorporated in the basilica, thus forming a chapel at the east end of the north aisle.

Marucchi also discovered a structure in a corresponding position at the east end of the south aisle (figs. 237, 239). It too has a niche in its east wall, but this niche is rectangular rather than semicircular. The structure is now ruined, and we have no knowledge of it except after Marucchi reports, which is that its walls were built of a masonry resembling that of the north mausoleum, and that they were placed against the five niches of the crypt.<sup>5</sup> When seen by Marucchi, the niche still carried two layers of paintings; in the upper, more recent layer, he distinguished a landscape, turned to the left.<sup>6</sup> In the Byzantine style of the seventh century.<sup>7</sup> Marucchi also saw traces of an inscription with letters arranged vertically; he assigned it tentatively to the seventh century. This date need not be accepted, but clearly the upper layer of frescoes was medieval, presumably it was not executed before the seventh nor after the twelfth century. By analogy with the location and shape of the north mausoleum, we are led to deduce that this structure too was a mausoleum antedating the basilica and was later incorporated in it as a side chapel at the end of the south aisle.

The apse of the basilica lies between the two mausolea.<sup>8</sup> It is hidden at present by a high wall, and an excavation would be both costly and dangerous. Hence it is known to us only from the reports of Marucchi, who saw it in 1887-1890, and of Apollonio Ghetti, who re-excavated it thirty years ago and had photographs taken (figs. 237, 239, 240).<sup>9</sup> Indeed, while Marucchi had interpreted his findings as a single apse enclosing an altar structure, Apollonio Ghetti found two distinct, concentric apses.

The small apse is the earlier of the two and was preserved beneath the floor of the later large apse. Judging by photographs taken during excavation, it was cut down to about 50 cm. of its

<sup>1</sup> MARUCCHI, *op. cit.*, p. 114; MARUCCHI, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

<sup>2</sup> ANDERSON, *op. cit.*, p. 170.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> MARUCCHI, *op. cit.*, p. 122 ff.

<sup>5</sup> MARUCCHI, *op. cit.*, p. 120; MARUCCHI, *op. cit.*, p. 121, also p. 122 ff.

<sup>6</sup> For the entire fresco, see MARUCCHI, *op. cit.*, p. 121, also p. 122; MARUCCHI, *op. cit.*, p. 121 ff. and *Archaeological Survey of Jerusalem*, p. 114 ff.

<sup>7</sup> MARUCCHI, *op. cit.*, p. 121 ff.; *Stylarische Geschichte*, no. 1, 121 ff. We have not attempted to identify the exact subject of the photograph (see fig. 239).



Fig. 240. C. Valentin. 1872. Interior view of the apse and foundation of the mausoleum of the emperor Constantine II, showing the east wall of a niche and the east wall of the apse.

The outer apse measures 5.47 m in diameter and was built of *opus testaceum* in alternate courses of rubble and brick, both very worn and shapeless.<sup>1</sup> At its apex it has a small throne niche, 1.43 m wide, 0.75 m deep and, according to Apollonio Ghetti's section, roughly 1.60 m above nave level.<sup>2</sup> The floor level of the apse, as indicated by Apollonio Ghetti, was the same as that of the throne niche. The wall of the small apse is bonded at both springings to a long rectilinear wall running north

and south (Fig. 241). The eastern wall is somewhat wider, with a diameter of 4.20 m, its exterior is rubble masonry and was built *à sautoir* against the wall of Monte Paron.<sup>3</sup> On its exterior Apollonio Ghetti discovered the lower portions of an altar block and left them open to inspection in the east wall of a niche which branches off the eastern concourse<sup>4</sup> (pl. XVII, fig. 242). The altar measured 0.40 m square and was built of brick, with a modulus of five bricks and five mortar beds per 27 cm. The brickwork rests on a stone slab, somewhat larger than the altar, at a level 1.19 m above that of the later nave; the underside of the slab is 1.00 m above nave level. The former figure would thus appear to be the level of the early apse as well, assuming that the stone slab was part of a step leading to the apse floor. The apse wall was heavily coated with plaster on the inside and apparently carried a marble revetment.<sup>5</sup> On the photograph there appears to be, below the plaster coat, a masonry of stone and marble fragments<sup>6</sup> (fig. 242). At a later time, a filling which raised the original floor level the height of one low step was placed in the apex of the apse against the original plaster coat.

<sup>1</sup> Apollonio Ghetti and his assistants gave a false figure for the level of the building, but his hypothetical section (pp. 101, p. 192) shows a wall profile corresponding to the height of the base of the north wall at 2.2 m above nave level; that of the apse, according to the drawing (ibid. p. 101), is roughly the same. Ghetti's north wall is not above 1.60 m above the nave level. The false dimensions merely confirm the fact that Ghetti has not fully noted the measurements. Even at 1.22 m (the wall of the apse, judging from Apollonio Ghetti's photograph) the same error has been made; the drawing is not above 1.60 m above the nave level, corresponding to plaster height in the drawing (ibid. p. 101).

<sup>2</sup> The drawing (ibid. p. 101) shows a 1.60 m wide wall finished in 1902, was found to be badly damaged in 1903, apparently in 1904, p. 102.

<sup>3</sup> The drawing (ibid. p. 101) shows a wall finished in 1902, was found to be badly damaged in 1903, apparently in 1904, p. 102.

<sup>4</sup> The drawing (ibid. p. 101) shows a wall finished in 1902, was found to be badly damaged in 1903, apparently in 1904, p. 102.

<sup>5</sup> The drawing (ibid. p. 101) shows a wall finished in 1902, was found to be badly damaged in 1903, apparently in 1904, p. 102.

<sup>6</sup> The drawing (ibid. p. 101) shows a wall finished in 1902, was found to be badly damaged in 1903, apparently in 1904, p. 102.

<sup>7</sup> The drawing (ibid. p. 101) shows a wall finished in 1902, was found to be badly damaged in 1903, apparently in 1904, p. 102.



Fig. 241. Interior view of the east wall of the apse and the east wall of the mausoleum of the emperor Constantine II, showing the east wall of the apse and the east wall of the mausoleum.

and south for a length of 34.45 m and thus crosses the chord wall of the apse.<sup>7</sup> It is bonded for almost 80 m to the length by the east wall of the later *crypta* (Fig. 241), but it has been found open in three points: one to the north (Fig. 240) where it abuts the earlier south wall of the south mausoleum; the second (Fig. 242) is some two metres south of this point; and the third is at the north springing of the apse. Thus it is possible to see the masonry of the wall, which is a solidly built structure intermingled with fragments of swaked marble.<sup>8</sup> Apollonio Ghetti considered that the north and south ends of the chord wall turned west at right angles on the line of the colonnades of the later basilica.<sup>9</sup> Indeed, in his view, the foundation walls of these colonnades, though cut down to the present nave level, were originally the north and south walls of the structure in which the early apse belonged.<sup>10</sup> However, both these contentions are open to serious doubt. At the point near its north end where it has been exposed, instead of turning a sharp corner, the chord wall runs against the antecedent south wall of the north mausoleum. Moreover, the nave *dyblans*, with their shallow foundations and their south of 1.00 to 1.50 m,<sup>11</sup> are not one build with either the chord wall or the foundation of the mausoleum south wall. The latter is visible under the *crypta*; it is sunk deeply into the ground and is no more than 0.70 m thick (Fig. 242). The south end of the chord wall, where Apollonio Ghetti found a corner, is no longer visible behind the east wall of the *crypta*. Instead, a rectangular pier, 0.70

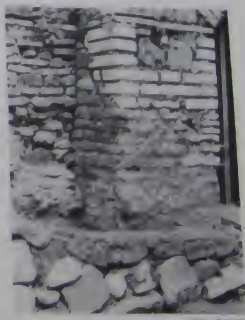


Fig. 242. Interior view of the east wall of the apse and the east wall of the mausoleum of the emperor Constantine II, showing the east wall of the apse and the east wall of the mausoleum.

<sup>7</sup> Apollonio Ghetti (ibid. p. 101).

<sup>8</sup> See below, p. 301.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid. p. 101.

<sup>10</sup> See below, p. 302.

<sup>11</sup> See below, p. 302.

in wide positions from the west wall of the crypt into the present nave area, for a distance of 3.41 m. (pl. XVII, fig. 211; see also fig. 214, right edge). It clearly antedates the crypt wall which shows it. The masonry technique of the pier differs greatly from the brickwork of the crypt wall. It stands on a solid foundation wall which rises from crypt level and is topped by a few courses of well-cut ashlar blocks. These stop some 70 cm. above the basilica floor level and thus at a level which corresponds to that of the north mausoleum. Above this, the pier is built of excellent brickwork with but one single course of tuffelli inserted, apparently first in total masonry which is struck off at the top with upward-facing oblique trowel strokes. The mortar beds are 3.25 to 4 cm. thick and the modulus is about 4 1/2 courses per R. ft.



Fig. 211. S. Valentinus. Pier at north-east crypt wall.

On the north face of the pier (fig. 211) this masonry wall rises to a height of 0.80 m. above nave level, while on the west and south faces only about 0.30 m. of the original brickwork is preserved. The pier was intended to be seen on its north, west and south faces. To the east it is broken off in line with the inside face of the crypt west wall. Originally it must have extended eastward and presumably met the chord wall; but this extension was demolished when the crypt was built. The character of the brickwork leaves little doubt that the pier is of Early Christian date, very possibly from the fourth and not later than the fifth century.

The corresponding pier to the north has largely disappeared. In its place stands the bottom section of a much longer pier, which originally projected as much as 1.23 m. from the crypt wall.

Built of poor rubble masonry over a very shallow footing, it is bonded to the bottom stretch of the crypt wall (figs. 212, 243, top). As we shall see, this latter postdates the nave colonnades<sup>1</sup>; hence the bottom courses of the pier must also be late. However, these bottom courses are overlaid by a few courses of roughly hewn stone blocks which project from deep inside the crypt wall. The blocks include a stone slab at the same level as the north mausoleum and roughly level with the beginning of the brick masonry on the south pier. These stone courses placed atop the foundation of the masonry south wall seem to represent the north counterpart of the south brick pier.

The north and south sides of the nave are defined by the stylobates of the nave (pl. XVII, fig. 213, 3). The north stylobate was uncovered in 1888 for a length of more than 25 meters, the south stylobate for a length of only 11 meters (fig. 217<sup>2</sup>). Both are broad, though irregular in width. Near the first column base, the north stylobate is 1.59 m. wide, but between the first and second base it measures only 1 m. and near the third base, 1.20 m. The footing is extraordinarily shallow, and the foundation of the north stylobate does not continue east beyond the first column base. The top level of the stylobates, marked by the column plinths resting thereon, lies, at the easternmost column of the north colonnade, 0.81 m. below the level of the north mausoleum; at the second visible column it is 0.85 m. lower, and at the third, 0.93 m. These columns were the first, third and fourth plinths of the original colonnade, their levels are 1.12 m., 1.16 m. and 1.24 m.,

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 107.

<sup>2</sup> *Mausoleum-Gabri*, 1926, p. 121 and *Illustration*, 1926, pls. 1 and 2, 20; on the south stylobate wall see p. 127.



Fig. 213. S. Valentinus. North stylobate of nave. Three columns from the northern colonnade with their foundations.

Fig. 213b. S. Valentinus. North stylobate at base from south pier.

respectively, below the early apse and roughly another 0.20 m. below the late apse. It will be noted that the stylobate level drops 15 cm. from the first to the third visible column, and it is possible that this slope continued to the west façade. Marschli found a few column plinths and bases, or imprints of plinths on the stylobates. Counting from the east for the north stylobate these were the first, third, fourth and ninth columns; on the south stylobate he found the imprint of the second plinth.<sup>3</sup> According to Marschli, all the bases were found either *in situ* or else their settings could be traced. At present, the most visible stretch of the north stylobate carries three bases, in the places of the first, second and third columns (figs. 213, 6), while the entire part of the south stylobate carries two bases, in the position of the first and second. That none of the bases, the second to the north and the first to the south, were set in position about the construction.<sup>4</sup> However, the first and third north plinths and the second south plinth are still *in situ*, indeed, since the first north plinth is larger than the others, the foundation wall below it has been bonded (figs. 243a, 6). The bases, all spoils, vary in diameter from 0.60 to 0.83 m.; a single broken column shaft of granite remains; it has a diameter of 0.61 m. and is 0.95 m. high. When found, the clear distances between the bases were reported as 3.15 m.<sup>5</sup>, thus resulting in intercolumniations 2.75 to 2.95 m. wide from column centre to column centre. However, the distance between the first and third bases of the north colonnade now measured 5.00 m., thus giving 3.40 m. for each of the two intercolumniations; thus the span of intercolumniation through the bases apparently ranged as high as 3.40 m.

At a distance of 5.30 m. from the south edge of the south stylobate, the rock has been cut in a straight line, and it is likely that this cut corresponds to the outer wall of the south aisle. There is no evidence that the bases, Ionic capital and column shaft found in 1888 in the neighbouring vineyard belong to the church.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>3</sup> *Mausoleum-Gabri*, 1926, p. 121 and pls. 1, 2 and 4.

<sup>4</sup> See however, *Archiv für Geogr.*, p. 104, p. 106.

<sup>5</sup> *Mausoleum-Gabri*, 1926, p. 121.

<sup>6</sup> *Mausoleum*, 1926, p. 120.



FIG. 241. S. Apollonia. Base wall of crypt, and walls of chancel screen and marble graves during excavation of Apollon Ghella.

In front of the *apollon* the nave encloses a number of brick walls of rough build (pl. XVII, fig. 242<sup>1</sup>). There are, first, two long parallel walls running east and west, 4.10 m. apart. Near the east end of the south wall, at a distance of roughly 1 m. from the crypt wall and parallel to it, a narrow transverse wall runs south and, with a right-angle turn, abuts against the Early Christian brick pier (fig. 241) near the south end of the crypt. Everything further east, including the east ends of the two long walls, was apparently cut off when the crypt was built. Coming south west of this point, the parallel walls were cut down and buried under a new pavement the upper surface of which lies 1.10 m. above the original nave level as marked by the first north column plinth. However, they still extend more than 10 m. into the nave area and rise between 0.65 and 1.00 m. above the original nave level. Since their footings lie from as little as 0.02 m. to as much as 0.17 m. above this level and are placed without foundation on earth fill, they presumably represent a later insertion into the nave. In this context it should be noted that the reused fragment of a Damasian epigram was found built into one of the walls<sup>2</sup>. Near their centers, both walls were interrupted by passages, and the south wall, east of this passage, is provided with a bench. Just west of the opening in the south wall, a wing wall projects south into the aisle,

<sup>1</sup> See Romolo Alderson, assisted by Felice Micheloni, S. J., and Mr. Gertr Käfer, was good enough to recheck the levels and re-arrange of these walls.

<sup>2</sup> Martini, *op. cit.* (in the following section) p. 102, p. 101 (B) and text and illustration from the *Annuario*, Professor Jos.

0.4-0.5 cm. above its footing, 7-8 holes (for pipes) on the one face of the wall (fig. 255). No trace of a corresponding wing wall has survived to the north, but it may well have existed. Indeed, the entire set of walls cannot be anything but a chancel screen of a type known in Rome from as early as the early fourth to the early eighth century<sup>1</sup>. Mosaic fragments occur in graves between the walls of the church. Some run east and west, others north and south; one was dated (not by an epitaph, perhaps *in situ*). But none of these graves are now visible.

A strange feature exists in the center of the chancel area: it is slightly off the main axis and is not necessarily contemporaneous with the chancel walls

(pl. XVII; fig. 244). It is an enclosure formed by brick walls of varying strength: its west wall is 61 cm. wide; the north wall, 32 cm. and the east wall 24 cm. All still rise to a level 0.75 m. above the original nave floor. The core of the enclosure formed a hollow rectangle or square, possibly sheltering a venerated object or site. The outer length of the enclosure measured 1.55 m. along the north face; the west face is still 1.20 m. long; but both the west and east faces are incomplete, since they are oversailed by a longish block of brick masonry which projects west from the foot of the crypt wall. This block is, in part at least, of later date than the enclosure. However, as observed by Mr. Malmström and his team, in the lower portions of the eastern two-thirds of its south face, the block shows remains of an earlier structure founded on a concrete band which is 0.17 m. high and rises from a level 0.09 m. above



FIG. 242. S. Apollonia. Chancel screen, south wall, and background with wall across south aisle, seen from southeast.

the first nave level. However, the remaining western third of the block lacks this footing and rests on earth fill, 0.32 m. above nave level. The older, east part seems to represent the south face of the enclosure, which thus would appear to measure 1.55 by 2.05 m. The following observations should be added: at a level 11.5 cm. above the original nave there is a pavement of small marble squares adjacent to this south face; the enclosure was founded on a concrete platform that projects west and rises as much as 0.30 m. above nave level and 0.20 m. above the marble pavement just mentioned; at its east end, the concrete band at the foot of the long block (that is, the south face of the enclosure) turns south to form the footing of a short cross wall which now links the long block to the south chancel wall; along this short cross wall the footing is provided with a low shelf, 3 to 5 cm. deep, but this footing does not continue along the south chancel wall; above the concrete footing, the brickwork of the cross wall does not bond with that of the long block; rather, in its upper parts, the cross wall seems to bond with the south chancel wall.

Thus, the late parts of the long block, that is, its west end and upper east portions, may well be contemporaneous with the chancel walls. The upper parts of the short wall are possibly later. But the lower parts of the block, its footing and the footing of the short wall belong to the enclosure, as do the marble pavement adjoining the block and the concrete platform on which the west face

<sup>1</sup> Martini, "An early Roman chancel arrangement at the Imperial function," *R. I. C.* (1901) 6, 22 ff. and notes, p. 152, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Martini, *ibid.* pp. 85, 119 and pl. 1.



FIG. 240. S. Valentinus. Corridor crypt, from north, showing section of Apollon's Chloë.



FIG. 241. S. Valentinus. Essera of crypt corridor.

residential quarters. As no doorways were noted by Marinich, it seems that he found only the lowest courses of these structures. A transverse wall crossed the north aisle at a distance of 23.90 m. from the apse chord. A rectangular niche was set into it close to the stylobate of the nave and thus far off the central axis of the aisle; but clearly this wall was buried below the floor when

of the enclosure appears in 1931. This hypothesis then antedates the building of the later parts of the long block. Since the upper portions of the short cross wall bond with the chancel wall and are even later than the late portions of the long block, the enclosure must antedate the layout of the chancel. It may be later than the nave, given the difference in level between the marble pavement and the nave, as marked by the stylobates. However, it is equally possible that the platform which carried the enclosure, as well as the adjacent marble pavement, were designed from the outset to rise above the nave, the former 30 cm. higher, the latter, 11 cm., and were indeed of one build with the construction of the nave.

The function of the enclosure must remain in doubt. It may well have sheltered a venerated grave, or it could have served as a *mensa refrigerii*.

The west hall of the nave is hidden beneath the modern roadway, and we only have the excavators' information about it (pl. XVII; fig. 240).<sup>1</sup> They saw the fourth column base of the north colonnade, following on the third, which is still visible, and far to the west, 46.70 m. from the west chord wall of the apse, they saw another, apparently the ninth. Beside this ninth column base, the excavators found a wall, ca. 1.20 m. wide and parallel to the colonnade. It is 5.30 m. north of the colonnade and thus not in line with the north wall of the north mausoleum which had been transformed into a lateral chapel at the east end of the north aisle. Presumably this wall was the side wall of the north aisle. Thus both the north and south aisles were the same width, 5.30 m. North of this wall lay a series of rectangular compartments which might have been

the side wall itself. A narrow wall crossing the aisle, 20 m. from the east chord. Hence it seems that this cross wall and the north wall belonged to a construction antedating the basilica style. The same holds being buried below the chancel floor, the north wall was preserved at least to the foundation, either in form or in masonry. The north wall of the side wall, according to Marinich's plan, the wall penetrated both east and west beyond the cross wall of the former pavement.

The position of the west wall of the basilica remains to doubt. It may have rested on the construction of the two walls crossing the north aisle, but there is no indication that the wall continued into the nave area. Indeed Marinich suggests that the facade wall was somewhat further west, where, in his time, there was a small "modern" statue of S. Valentinus about 36.00 m. west of the apse chord.

A corridor crypt crosses the east end of the nave, parallel with the chord of the two apses and separating the second aisle from the choir (figs. 245, 246, 247, 248).<sup>2</sup>

The corridor (2.40 meters in height) had been covered by a vault constructed in 1887 to 1898. Its level lies 0.24 m. below the original level of the nave and thus 0.81 m. below that of the later nave level (Marinich is more than 2 m. below the floor of the second apse). The original masonry of the corridor walls (ca. 200 to 220 m. above sea level). The width of the corridor increases from 4.10 m. at the east end to 5.22 to 5.30 m. north end. Eastward since the crypts are situated in the north and south aisles. The narrow doors and the doorways were built from 1887 to 1888 but they replace original openings (figs. 247, 248, 249). While the west wall of the corridor is 0.40 m. thick, the east wall is for a length of 20 m. thick. The door is placed against the pre-existing chancel wall from which opening the small apse of the last structure (figs. 249a, b).<sup>3</sup> In the center of the crypt a rectangular niche, 0.60 m. by 1.00 m., opens east into the area of the apses. In its west wall, a passage block has been uncovered.<sup>4</sup> The crypt, it has been taken to be the altar of the small, early apse,<sup>5</sup> but this appears to be doubtful. Foster, Thomas Mathews, S. J., has called our attention to a number of features concerning this construction. Inside the corridor, near the entrance, one sees the foundation built into the east wall, the ring wall as well of earlier structures which were cut through when the crypt was built. The marble pavement of the corridor is intact and traces of stichic pavement persist on either wall (fig. 246). These lamp sockets are arranged in the west wall, 200 cm. in the center, opposite the rectangular apse, was built planed, and it has been suggested that it was used as a *fenestella confitebori*. (figs. 244, 248).<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Marinich, *op. cit.*, p. 116 (Marinich, *ibid.*, p. 117).

<sup>2</sup> *Archaeological Gazetteer*, p. 100.

<sup>3</sup> See Marinich, p. 100.

<sup>4</sup> *Archaeological Gazetteer*, p. 100, 117-118.

<sup>5</sup> See Marinich, p. 100.

<sup>6</sup> *Archaeological Gazetteer*, p. 117 and pl. 1, 10th 3.

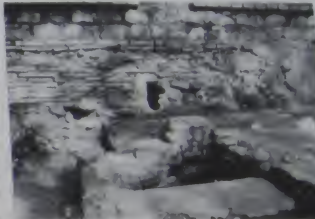


FIG. 242. S. Valentinus. Westward of crypt corridor, showing section of the wall north end of the pavement.

<sup>7</sup> Marinich, *op. cit.*, p. 116 (Marinich, *ibid.*, p. 117).

<sup>8</sup> *Archaeological Gazetteer*, p. 100.

<sup>9</sup> See Marinich, p. 100.

<sup>10</sup> *Archaeological Gazetteer*, p. 100, 117-118.

<sup>11</sup> See Marinich, p. 100.

The masonry of the crypt walls is brick with occasional tufa and marble fragments, laid in undulating courses with an irregular modulus of 4 to 5 courses per R. 0.3. The external, or west, face of the west wall (figs. 245, 248) displays at its base a band of unfaced rubble which rises from the level of the original nave, it was once 1.70 m. high, but at present only about 0.50 to 0.60 m. of the band is visible. The band was apparently built from inside the crypt against an earth filling under which were buried the original floor of the nave and the chancel wall, it was clearly a foundation wall, not intended to be seen.<sup>2</sup> Above this level rises the crypt wall proper, it is built of the same poor brickwork that is seen on the inside face.

Thus, the crypt belongs to a new building period and is later than the original nave and its corresponding second apse. Indeed, by the time the crypt was built, the level of the nave pavement had apparently been raised 0.56 m. This level is marked both by the top of the rubble band at the base of the crypt wall and by a marble slab, 0.07 m. thick, presumably the remnant of a new pavement, which projects at the same level from the crypt wall (fig. 244, just left of center, and fig. 248, left). The upper surface of this slab rises 0.56 m. above the first nave level. It is also clear that in this phase the crypt must have risen to a considerable height above the new nave level: more than one meter, given the extant height of its original wall, 2.12 m., and its level, 0.54 m. below the original and 0.10 m. below the new nave floor. Hence, the floor of the apse in this phase also must have been level with the ceiling of the crypt, if not higher, roughly 1.10 m. above the new and ca. 1.66 m. above the original nave floor.

## F. RECONSTRUCTION

The basilica of S. Valentino seems to have developed from a row of antecedent mausolea in an open-air cemetery which stood at the foot of the Pavioli escarpment, on the east side of the ancient Via Flaminia (fig. 247). Three or four small mausolea with absidal niches in their east walls stood north of the church; larger chambers with niches, probably also mausolea, stood on the site subsequently occupied by the church; they were incorporated in its structure as the east ends of the north and south aisles. In the first stage of evolution, another apsed building stood between these two chambers. It is too large for an ordinary tomb and, in view of the later history of the site, we take it to be the original *memoria* of Saint Valentine. The Christian structures on the site represent at least three and possibly four successive phases of construction.

### 1. The Memoria

The first building, the *memoria* laid out on the cemetery between the earlier mausolea, survives in but a few elements: the small apse and the masonry block it enclosed (figs. 239, 247), both at roughly the same level as the antecedent, possibly pagan, north mausoleum; the chord wall (fig. 249a, b), 13.48 m. long, which bonds with the early apse and, at its north end, runs against the south wall of the north mausoleum; the brick pier which projects from the west wall of the crypt

<sup>2</sup> The large square block seen in figs. 245 and 248, is well away at the far end of fig. 245 and at the wall of the rectangular niche, fig. 248, far from the rubble.

<sup>3</sup> *Architectural Gazetteer of Rome*, 238-239. The text occasionally regards this bottom wall as an earlier wall, antedating the construction of the crypt and belonging to the original basilica.

near its south entrance (fig. 244) and which presumably projected toward the north end of the chord wall.

The scantiness of these fragments makes it hazardous to visualize the first building. It has been reconstructed as an antilean hall, 13 m. wide and of undetermined length, on the assumption that the syzygium of the sixteenth century originally filled the side vaults of the hall, antilean

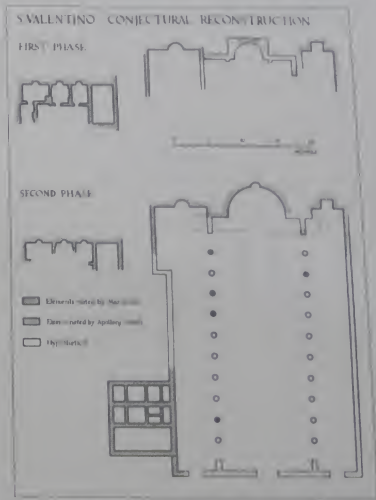


Fig. 247. S. Valentino. Conjectural reconstruction.

cut down to the later nave level.<sup>3</sup> But as we have seen, this assumption is unfounded; at best one could assume, though without the support of any evidence, that the early stylolates replaced side walls. In that case, however, the brick pier to the north would be hard to explain; it could only be the eastern jamb of a door opening into the adjoining vault mausoleum. Under the circumstances we think it just as likely that the first *memoria* had no niche whatever and was in fact open to the sky, with its focus the grave of the martyr. The position of the apse, situated as it was

<sup>4</sup> *Architectural Gazetteer of Rome*, p. 238.

later became nave level, is now marked by the late martyr's enclosure (figs. 244-246, foreground) behind it, at a higher level, the apse was scooped out of the cliff and joined on either side to the chancel wall which rose from ground level, as marked by the grave. The site around the grave was 13.48 m. wide in front of the apse and delimited to the east by the apse and chord wall, to the north by the brick pier and the north mausoleum, and to the south by a short wall, terminating in the brick pier and placed against the north wall of the antecedent south mausoleum. The *memoria* thus would have been an *arae memoriae*, as they are known from Early Christian North Africa; but such *arae* certainly existed in Italy as well. Contrary to Marucchi's assumption, the grave of the martyr, Saint Valentin, was probably not in the catacomb. In our opinion it was in the *arae*, at the foot of the early apse, where it was set off by a rectangular "martyr's enclosure" after the basilica was built.

## 2. The basilica

At some time this *memoria* was replaced by a regular basilica (fig. 249). The first, small apse was modified and a larger one, 3 m. wide, was built at a level 0.30 m. higher (fig. 230<sup>1</sup>). In the nave area, 1.60 m. below the new apse level, stylobates were laid out to support the nave colonnade (figs. 232, 241); as a result the south wall of the north mausoleum and the north wall of the south mausoleum were shortened, leaving only tongue piers to carry the end arcades of the colonnades. The nave of the new church thus was the same width as the earlier *memoria*, 13.50 m. The aisles were 5.50 m. wide, except at the east end where at least the left aisle incorporated the wider antecedent north mausoleum; it is likely that the south mausoleum was similarly used for the right aisle. Columns separated the nave and aisles. The columns, their bases and presumably their capitals were all of different diameters and evidently spoils. Given the width of the intercolumniation, 3.10 m., the columns probably carried arches. Since the length of the nave and the position of the facade are unknown, the original number of columns and intercolumniations cannot be determined. In archaeological evidence. However, the gift of two sets of twenty-two curtains each, presented by Hadrian I, suggests there were eleven intercolumniations and hence ten columns on either side of the nave. The length of the nave would then have been ca. 38 meters, which is the sum of the diameters of the columns, roughly 34 meters, plus the length of the eastern tongue pier, 1.50 m., and the presumably shorter west end piers.

A rectangular enclosure, discussed above, rose on the center axis of the nave, 2.30 m. from the apse chord (figs. 244, 247). It measured 1.55 by 2.05 m., was hollow within, and was raised 0.30 m. above the nave on a platform. We do not know how far west this platform extended, but in view of its height, two or three steps must have led to the western face from nave level. On its sides it was apparently flanked by a lower platform, only 0.11 m. high and covered by a marble pavement that is still preserved along the south face. Since the concrete footing of the south face turns at its east end and continues south below a later short wall, a wing wall, running north to south, must have flanked the enclosure. The shelf at the foot of the short wall suggests that it was designed to support a marble revêtement. The length of this original wing wall cannot be determined, nor does any trace remain of a corresponding north wing wall. The function of the enclosure remains unknown, but very likely it was designed to shelter the martyr's grave which remained at the place it had occupied in the open air cemetery and in the *memoria*.

Since the difference in level between nave and apse was 1.60 m., a flight of at least eight

steps was necessary to join them. Eight steps, each about 10 cm. high, would have given a very steep grade. However, the number and placement of these steps remains in doubt. Apollonio Ghetti has suggested a flight running the entire width of the nave.<sup>2</sup> This is possible, but it is equally likely that a narrower flight of steps ascended from the middle of the nave, behind the martyr's enclosure. Since, however, in either case the steps would start very close to the rear face of that enclosure, one might also consider an alternative in which two narrow flights ascended to the apse, one from either side of the nave.

## 3. The chancel

The footing levels of the chancel barriers lie throughout above the original nave level, sometimes considerably so. Thus the chancel can only be a late insert. It is not difficult to reconstruct its main outlines. At the foot of the apse projecting 3 meters west into the nave and presumably enclosing the stairs, the first area extended across the entire width of the nave, 13.00 m. It was marked off by a narrow wall which is still visible in front of the crypt wall, abutting against the Early Christian brick pier (fig. 241). From this section a longish rectangular area projected west into the nave. Enclosed by quite strong walls and maintaining a constant width of only 4.10 m., it still projects at least ten meters into the nave, though originally it may well have been much longer (fig. 244). The position and form of its entrance remain unknown. Indeed, it could have been preceded by a *dywan*, narrower than the main area and of considerable length, much like the sixth century arrangement of S. Maria<sup>3</sup>. Although only the south portion survives, flanking areas extended on either side of this main section. Separated from the nave to the west by cross walls, they communicated with the center area through passageways. At the east these flanking sections apparently terminated with the thin cross wall of the wide rear area, thus they were only five meters deep. The liturgical function of this chancel arrangement has been clarified by Fr. Mathews who has pointed out, *inter alia*, that the flanking areas served as *senatorium* and *matroneum* for the reception of the offering and the distribution of communion respectively.<sup>4</sup> In this context the ledge at the rear of the chancel wall is also explained.

We cannot explain, however, the longish block of brickwork which projects from near the middle of the center area and oversails the older martyr's enclosure, which was thus eliminated. It looks as though it carried an *ambo*, but the central section is not the normal size for an *ambo* in this type of chancel arrangement. It could not be the base for an altar either. We think it best to leave the matter open. Clearly, however, at the time it was built the martyr's enclosure, which it oversails, had lost all significance. Evidently, the martyr's remains laid by then been removed from their original resting place within the enclosure and transferred elsewhere, presumably to an altar on the level of the late, larger apse, or to a small *confessio* beneath such an altar. This *confessio* would probably have rested atop the masonry block which belonged to the apse of the early *memoria* and is now visible from the *exedra* projecting east from the crypt corridor (fig. 247).

<sup>1</sup> Ann. Inst. Orient., op. cit., p. 103 and fig.

<sup>2</sup> See Ghetti, *loc. cit.*, pp. 444 ff., 445 and fig. cit. and MATTHEWS, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

<sup>3</sup> MATTHEWS, *op. cit.*, p. 117, with reference to the *Ordo Romanus*, I, ANASTASI, *loc. cit.*, p. 117, and *loc. cit.*, p. 117.

## 4. The corridor crypt

A major remodeling of the basilica is linked to the construction of the corridor crypt running east and south across the east end of the nave (pl. XVII, figs. 244, 245, 247). In building it, the nave level was raised 56 cm, and the chancel walls were cut down to that level and burned beneath a new floor (fig. 244). The crypt wall facing the nave was placed with its foundation into the fill below the new floor. However, the aisles of the basilica seem to have retained their old level and thus remained 56 cm. below the new nave; indeed, the entrances to the crypt were placed in the aisles with but four steps descending to crypt level, 0.54 m. below the old nave, but 1.10 m. below the new.<sup>1</sup> The crypt was apparently focused on an object placed in or visible from the square exedra which branches off east of its center; possibly it was a sarcophagus placed in the exedra or, less likely, the masonry block in the small apse belonging to the early *memoria* (fig. 247). The corridor was lighted only by the entrances and by three lamp niches placed in its west wall. It has been suggested that the niche in the center was originally a *fenestella confessio-* through which to view the exedra from the nave<sup>2</sup>, but this is not so; the niche in question was crudely broken through at a late date (figs. 241, 248). The walls of corridor and exedra carried marble revetment and the floor still consists of marble plaques. The roofing of the corridor remains a moot point; it may have been vaulted or, like the annular crypts of S. Prassede and S. Marco in Rome, covered with stone plaques.<sup>3</sup> In any event, however, the roofing must have reached a level higher than the eave height of the crypt walls, 2.12 m. above its floor, 1.56 m. above the original and 1.02 m. above the new level of the nave.

This height of the corridor, at least 1.56 m. above nave level, makes it approximately level with the apse floor. Indeed, its roof would have served as a shallow but broad forechamber. Again, steps must have ascended to this level. They have been envisaged in two flights, framing the supposed *fenestella confessio* in the center of the crypt wall.<sup>4</sup> But the *fenestella*, as we saw, never existed, nor does the crypt wall show any traces of stair walls projecting west as would have been necessary. Thus the stairs could possibly have ascended to the crypt roof sideways from the aisles.

In all likelihood, the main altar remained in its previous position on the chord of the apse, and enclosed, possibly in a subterranean confessio, the relics of the saint, transferred from his original grave. The square exedra which projects east from the crypt corridor may well have been designed to establish contact with these relics.

## G. CHRONOLOGY

The relative chronology of the Christian structures at S. Valentino — *memoria*, basilica, chancel, crypt — is thus established. But it is not easy to transform this into an absolute chronology by collating it with the few documentary data available: the construction of a basilica by Julius I (387-352); repairs, "magnificent decoration" and reference to a large basilica under Honorius I (625-638); rebuilding "from the ground" and consecration by Theodoric I (642-649);

further repairs under Leo III (probably finally under reports on the roof of nave and apse (1000-1080).<sup>5</sup> The find of a coin of type in the crypt and of a Damascian fragment found in one of the chancel walls (1078) furnish *terminus ante quem* and *terminus post quem*, respectively, but both of doubtful value.<sup>6</sup>

Two alternatives present themselves. The first is the chronology proposed by Manacchi and taken up, with modifications by Apollonio Ghetti.<sup>7</sup> Its point of departure is the dating of the crypt, which it places in the pontificates of Honorius I and Theodoric I or of the latter alone. Indeed, the coin of 641 found inside the crypt tallies with this dating. In that case the statement of the *Liber Pontificalis* that Theodoric built the church from the foundations, would have to be taken as an exaggeration; this is possible, but not entirely convincing. Continuing this chain of reasoning, the building of the basilica must then be assigned to Julius I, as indeed Manacchi and Apollonio Ghetti did. The specific references in the Liberian catalogue to a "basilica" built by Julius I support this dating.<sup>8</sup> While the large proportions of the first basilica and the indiscriminate use of spolia give some pause for thought, they do not really militate against a date prior to 350 or very shortly thereafter. The chancel walls would thus date sometime between 350 and 650. The fragment of a Damascian epigram found in their walls suggests a comparatively late date within this wide span. Since the chancel type under discussion occurs from the early fourth to the early eighth century, their construction could be linked to the repairs of Julius' basilica undertaken by Honorius I, or to an undocumented sixth century building period comparable to the construction of similar chancels at S. Clemente (535-538, and S. Marco, ca. 550-650). Finally, the chronology thus proposed would have to assign the construction of the *memoria* enclosing the martyr's grave to a time prior to Julius' pontificate, either to the reign of Constantine<sup>9</sup> or — since it is not listed in the *Liber Pontificalis* among his works — to the late third or the very early fourth century.

The second alternative must start from the assumption that the basilica was built, in accordance with the statement of the *Liber Pontificalis* from the ground "a novo" by Theodoric I. In this case, the *memoria* would have to be assigned to the activity of Julius I, despite the use in the Liberian catalogue of the term *basilica* for Julius' building; the term, indeed, is often used loosely. On the other hand, it is not clear what kind of decoration and repair Honorius I could have executed in the *memoria* (if this was the "basilica" of Julius I) and how the pilgrims of the seventh century could have seen it as a "basilica magna".<sup>10</sup> Also according to this hypothesis, the chancel would have to date after the pontificate of Theodoric; this is possible in view of the occurrence of the same chancel type, or a variant thereof, as late as 707 at S. Maria Antiqua.<sup>11</sup> Finally, this alternative necessitates dating the corridor crypt (if, later, perhaps in the pontificate of Leo III, who repaired the roof of the church; the coin of 641 found inside the crypt might, after all, have slipped in by chance. The crypt type of a long corridor with an eastern square exedra finds its closest parallel in Carolingian crypts north of the Alps, for instance at St. Quentin (826-826 or 833) and, with some variation, at St. Médard at Soissons (817-841).<sup>12</sup> Indeed, a date in the pontificate of Leo III or even at the end of the ninth

<sup>1</sup> See above, *terminus post quem*.

<sup>2</sup> See above, figs. 246-247.

<sup>3</sup> Manacchi (1907, p. 11) ff.; Apollonio Ghetti in *Ann. Inst. Stud. Univ. Roma* (1931), pp. 1-2. Unpublished research has demonstrated that this is not the case.

<sup>4</sup> See above, fig. 247.

<sup>5</sup> See above, Vol. I, pt. III, and pt. XIX, 750 ff. (p. 303 ff.) and *See. Vatic. and Museol. Vatic.*, no. 175.

<sup>6</sup> Apollonio Ghetti, p. 110, ff. 100.

<sup>7</sup> See above, fig. 247.

<sup>8</sup> See above, Vol. II, p. 266 f. and pt. XVIII and *Museol. Vatic.*, no. 174.

<sup>9</sup> Theodor. *Fast. pastorum*, *Patav.*, 1907, p. 29, Ag. 16, 17, 18, citatio: "Hedergaderus in Frankofonia" (supposedly Constantine) *Patav.*, 1907, p. 105, ff. 107-108 ff.





The chancel barrier, whether built by Honorius or by one of his close predecessors, furnishes one more example of the type customary in Rome, apparently since Constantinian times: the type appears again, about 400 A.D., in Church A of S. Pietro in Vincoli, and lasts until at least 704 to 705, when it occurs at S. Maria Antiqua. Likewise, the link of the type to the liturgical ritual, as reflected by the *Ordo Romanus*, I, is confirmed.<sup>1</sup>

Finally, the *curridor* crypt represents a *lapata ligamentum* in mid-seventh century Rome; indeed, it is altogether unique in Rome. Its layout was probably conditioned by the desire to have subterranean access to a venerated spot, joined to the impossibility of laying out this access inside the curve of the apse as an annular crypt, like the older ones at St. Peter's and S. Pancrazio.<sup>2</sup> The *curridor* type finds no successor in Rome, nor for that matter, elsewhere in Italy. But it seems likely that the unique crypt at S. Valentin became the model on which drew the ninth century builders of the crypts at Saint Quentin and St. Médard at Soissons — two further examples of the Carolingian revival of Roman Early Christian church building.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 102, n. 6.

<sup>2</sup> See Roger Étienne de St. Étienne, *Le site et l'axe de Saint-Pierre de Rome*, p. 131 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Kasemann, "The Carolingian Revival of Early Christian Architecture," *Art Bulletin*, 1939, p. 117.

## S. VI. A. 1.

R. Kasemann, S. 131 ff.

## A. BIBLIOGRAPHY

- ALBERTINI, *Ordo*, ed. *Missale Romano*, 1929, p. 179.  
 E. V. MASTARDI DE' FERRAZI, *Monumenti*, p. 203 and p. 21.  
 RABUS, *Essai Métrique*, *Périples des Églises*, 15, 16, *Scholaria*, *Monum.*, 1911, p. 70.  
 FRANZINI, *Essai métrique*, 1920, p. 460 (1920, p. 393).  
 LINDAU, *Monum.*, 1906, p. 140, ff.  
 PIGNORARI, *Fasti sacrorum*, Rome, 1924, p. 302 ff. (1927, p. 302 ff.).  
 RICHMOND, *Les parties publiques de l'Église Romaine*, *Annuaire de l'École Française de Rome*, 1903, pp. 105, 107, 111.  
 MARTINELLI, *Roma in antico*, 1905, p. 320.  
 FRANZINI, *Essai métrique*, 1920, p. 122.  
 FROELICH, *Archiv*, XI, 1875, p. 287 ff.  
 ANSIEDI, *Roma nell'età bizantina*, II, Rome, 1907, p. 101.  
 MUSEY, *Les arts à l'époque des Papes*, III, Paris, 1906, p. 106.  
 KIRBY, *Revue*, L, 1904, p. 63.  
 MARRAS, *Religione*, III, 1905, p. 62 ff.  
 KIRBY, *Archiv*, 1910, p. 66 ff.  
 ORSIANI, *Darmstadt*, 1928, pp. 214, 215.  
 HOLLER, *Chron.*, 1927, p. 140.  
 HOFFMANN and GÖTTSCHE, *S. Trinità*, *Classe di Roma*, 1880, pp. 109, 110.  
 NODDI, *Monumenti*, Berlin, 1775, pp. 342, 343, 350.  
 VIGLIANI, "Santi Virali: le statue di bronzo dei primi romani," *Rivista di Storia*, 1903, p. 103 ff.  
 KRÖCHER, *Archiv*, *Monumenti di Roma*, R. I. C. 14 Doppo, p. 199.  
 JONKST, "Le ricami scolpiti nella Chiesa romana di San Vitale," *Rivista di Storia*, p. 103 ff.  
 SUSTANAGLIO, "Il Quirinale nell'Antico Roma," *Monumenti di Roma*, R. I. C. 14 Doppo, p. 199.  
 ANSIEDI-GENTILI, *Chron.*, I, 1904, p. 103 ff.  
 TORRE, *L'architettura Romana di Epistola*, Rome, 1910, p. 171 ff.  
 VALENTINI-ZUCCHETTI, *Col. Septimio*, II, 1915, p. 179 ff.  
 MATHIAS, "Basilika paläochristlich von jugoslav. Provinz," *Archiv*, 1903, p. 103 ff.  
 VOLKE, "Archäologische Funde und Entdeckungen. San Vitale," *Archiv*, 1903, p. 103 ff. and 107.  
 ORSIANI, "Kirchenbaukunst," pp. 214, 215.

## B. ANCIENT DESCRIPTIONS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

## I. ANCIENT DESCRIPTIONS

- RABUS, *op. cit.*, p. 7.  
 RICHMOND, *op. cit.*, *passim*.  
 BRUNN, *Theatrum Romanae Urbis*, XVII, *Rome*, *Classica Libreria*, N.° 101, 1908, p. 106 ff. (1911, Vol. III, 1929, p. 103 ff. Vol. IV, 1930, p. 107 ff.).  
 CASARETTI, *Monumenti di Fontana delle Romane*, *Rome*, *Classica Libreria*, N.° 101, 1908, p. 1.  
 PERAZZINI, *Monumenti*, *Rome*, *Classica Libreria*, Vol. III, p. 107 ff. and 110 ff.

## II. ANCIENT ILLUSTRATIONS

- 1570<sup>1</sup> 0773 S. PERAZZINI, *Sketch plans of churches, monuments and structures of the Roman Campagna*, and *Plans of the San Vitale in Therapia*, pp. 107 and 108; *Plano della Chiesa di San Vitale in Therapia*, *Annuaire de l'École Française de Rome*, 1903, p. 103 ff.  
 1531 ROYALSON, *Plan of Church, workshop*, *Map of Rome*, ed. *Enrico*, *Roma di Epistola*, *Classica Libreria*, 1911; *FRITZER*, *Plan of Rome*, pl. 101.



## D. GENERAL DESCRIPTION

S. Vitale stands on the west side of Via Nazionale, the Roman Vicus Longus, which in ancient times ascended from the Arghiletum to the Baths of Diocletian, following the valley between the Quirinal and Viminal hills.<sup>1</sup> The apse was built close to the steep bank of the Quirinal, while the façade appears to have been set back about 5.7 m from the north side of the Vicus (pl. XVIII),



Fig. 250. S. Vitale. Alt. view 1911.



Fig. 251. S. Vitale. Interior, 1911.

(fig. 250). The axis of the church being more or less normal to the street, it was oriented from south-east to north-west, but for the sake of brevity, we shall speak of the apse as being at the west end of the nave. When the modern Via Nazionale was constructed between 1870 and 1880, the road level was elevated by about 6 m. in front of the church, with the result that the façade now stands far below street level and is approached by a steep flight of descending stairs. At the foot of these steps the entrance to the nave is protected by a colonnaded narthex of five arches beneath which a fifteenth century doorway opens directly into the nave (figs. 250, 252, 271). The interior is a simple hall without aisles. At the west end the chancel is divided from the body of the nave by a channel rail and, on either side, by rectangular piers which project from the side walls (fig. 251). A doorway at the south side of the channel leads into the sacristy. To the north,

<sup>1</sup> See also note 10 on pp. 191, 192.

a semicircular ambulator supports the external, but it is accessible only from the interior. To 1910, and earlier than the present floor-plan, the apse was longer, a distance from the base of the doorway as mentioned in 1470, when the order was obtained.<sup>2</sup> The only late change on the exterior was made in 1871, and consisted in raising the floor-level of the exterior and in covering those of the narthex and apse with tiles, so that the facade of the nave, and the original upper stage facade was exposed to view from both of the north and south sides.<sup>3</sup> Inside, the nave still shows its fresco decoration and the abacus capitals in the remodeling of 1871 (p. 269).<sup>4</sup> The courtyard to the north, south, and east, which protect the church from the higher level of the surrounding ground, extend as much as the present doorway. But their walls, constructed, apparently in the 1860's, to judge by the manner of their high flanking walls, do not indicate that the north and south courtyards take the place of former aisles.

## E. ANALYSIS

## 1. The Narthex

The four front arches of the narthex are supported by four columnar bases, masonry and piers (pl. XVIII) (fig. 251). The restoration undertaken in 1871 by the Soprintendenza di Monumenti del Lazio has uncovered the original masonry, a mass of alternating coursed rubble and brick in which one course of each material together with the courses of masonry have a working height of 0.28 m. (fig. 253). The rubble varies in thickness from 1.10 to 1.20 m. while both mortar and bricks are, as is usual, 3 to 4 cm. thick. The mortar bed is generally set over slightly laminated brick face and, as a rule, is trovelled to a smooth vertical surface. However, in certain places, notably near corners and in arches, the mortar is sometimes worked by a two-faced curve (fig. 253). At points where additional strength is required, arches are masonry and the small face is constructed entirely in brick, this occurs in the arches and in the masonry of arches. It is this type of masonry which occurs throughout the original parts of the Early Christian structure.

The four columns which support the narthex are 1.20 m. high, they have shafts of 0.28 m. diameter, bases and capitals of marble<sup>5</sup> (fig. 254). The capitals are a simplified version of the Composite order, in which a single row of horizontal flutes is furnished by volutes which are carved accurately but with an economical absence of relief (fig. 254). We believe that these are of early fifth century date; indeed, they resemble the capitals worked for the construction of S. Paolo f. l. m. in 465, in particular the Composite capitals formerly in the outer arches.<sup>6</sup> The vertebrae pulvis with cyma profiles, placed atop the capitals, support the springing of the brick archivolts.

The arches of the narthex arcade are built with 0.28 m. bricks which radiate fairly accurately but from a point below the level of the springing, where the lower courses are already inclined. As the impost is little more than 0.23 m. square in plan, the radius at the bottom are only about 0.20 m. wide and are nearly intersected by a distance of 0.01 m. above

<sup>2</sup> See also note 10 on p. 192.

<sup>3</sup> Martelli, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

<sup>4</sup> See also note 10 on p. 192.

<sup>5</sup> See the original photographs in the Soprintendenza di Monumenti del Lazio.

<sup>6</sup> Martelli, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

<sup>7</sup> De Rosa and Favre, "Le restaurazioni fatte nel Convento di S. Paolo f. l. m. in 1865," *Arch. Stor. di Roma*, 1867, pp. 21-22 and pp. 25-26, showing some small arches built in brick on the side of the wall.



FIG. 254. S. Vito, Façade.

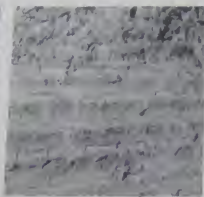


FIG. 255. S. Vito, Masonry of Facade Detail.

the capitals. From this level up to a horizontal line which is tangential to the extrados, the spandrels above the four columns are filled with brick above that level, and in the two end spandrels *opus basketweave* is resumed. We presume that the exterior face of the arcade and the intrados were originally recuted with marble plates, which would to some extent have mitigated the excessively slender proportions now seen.

The east wall of the nave stands nearly, but not exactly, parallel to the five-arched outer arcade of the narthex. The central doorway is embellished with a marble door frame which bears Sixtus IV's inscription, dated 1477 (fig. 256). Investigation of this wall, undertaken in 1956, has shown that there was originally a second five-arched colonnade in place of the present façade wall<sup>1</sup>. Thus the nave of the church must originally have opened toward the narthex and consequently only the two parallel colonnades in the front and the rear of the narthex separated the church from the public thoroughfare, the *Vicus Longus* (pl. XVIII, figs. 256, 260). The arcade which leads from the narthex into the nave is taller than the front arcade (figs. 253, 259). The four granite columns which originally supported it were all 5.68 m. high. Their composite capitals are richer than those of the narthex front arcade in that their bells are ornamented with two tiers of unserrated leaves; but their volutes are left without carved spirals<sup>2</sup>. The inner pair of columns was removed in constructing the central doorway, but the outer pair remains *in situ*. At some point, small lateral doorways apparently pierced the blocking walls of the outer pair of arches, but these too

<sup>1</sup> *Monumenti*, 22, 26, p. 329 f.

<sup>2</sup> The inscription above the arch of the façade of S. Vito may be attributed to Mr. John Hodgson.



FIG. 256. Marble Incrustation, Composite and Unsettled Capitals.



FIG. 257. S. Vito, Interior of Narthex.



FIG. 258. S. Vito, Narthex, Central Doorway.

were now blocked. The (possible) reason may be that of the east end of the north side the masonry construction (fig. 257). The blocking of the second and third arches of the narthex to the east are in present condition with heavy plates over the original photographic masonry (fig. 257). The blocking on points in center of the second arch should be the original walls of the church and presumably the brick front facade. Above the entrance, supporting (square blocks support) the arcades, walls were ornamented with marble plaques; some of the figures are still in situ, preserved by the masonry blocking walls (figs. 259, 260). An entire wall of the arcade the east part of the arcade with a double pointed pilaster ornamented with Corinthian base and capital, shows some approximate correspondence with the blocking of the church (fig. 257).

Construction of the main arcade is by lack of supporting the heavy east facade of the nave, on five arches, were formed with columns



Fig. 116. S. Vitale, Narthex, mosaic on arch (restored and Jan. 18 1914).



Fig. 117. S. Vitale, Narthex, mosaic on arch (restored and Jan. 18 1914).



Fig. 118. S. Vitale, Narthex, interior, 1850/1851.

built in *opus lobatum*. At the northwest corner of the narthex, where the west end pier of the north arcade meets the north end pier of the inner arcade, the masonry of the triple arch is *opus bipedale* and thus is posterior to the fabric of the inner arcade. However, the corbeling is exactly the same and we presume that the two are virtually contemporaneous. We cannot confirm this observation by examining the northeast corner because the masonry has been rebuilt in modern times.

in place of the sesquipedals noted in the outer arcade, and the impostes were made stouter (figs. 275, 276). The spandrels between the arches are brick but, as before, *opus lobatum* is found in the spandrels of the end piers, and the same material is resumed a few courses above the summit of the extrados (fig. 274). At this level a row of large rectangular beam holes is visible; it presumably housed the original ceiling beams spanning the narthex.

The narthex was apparently bounded to north and south by triple arcades. The south arcade has disappeared but the northern one survives in part (fig. 250). Its columns have disappeared but the arches remain, the sesquipedal archivolts spring at the same level as those of the quintuple front arcade. The central arch was about 10 cm. higher than the lateral ones. Unlike the quintuple arcades, the spandrels of the triple arch are

## 2. Upper part of the nave façade

The investigation of steps repeated in the upper part of the façade, the right part of an original window in the *opus lobatum* masonry at a distance of 1.00 m. from the left-hand one was still more extensive than 175, 187. The number 188 is 11 cm. above the base of the column (note below). The window opening was either 1.60 m. or 2.00 m. wide (combining dimensions as expected), and the preserved part of the north part shows that the opening of the window arch must have been at least 3.00 m. high above the sill, perhaps higher. A vertical fissure which continues the line of the *opus lobatum* through the lower masonry seems to show that at first the sill was defined at a lower level, but was altered during reconstruction. The surviving opening was evidently one of a row of five windows, spaced to correspond with the five arcades below.

## 3. North wall of the nave

The north wall of the church displays in its lower part remains of the masonry which formerly separated the nave from the north aisle and supported the transverse wall of XVIII). At the east end of the wall, adjoining the façade, the end pier of the *opisthona* is built of the same kind of *opus lobatum* as previously noted in the narthex and the nave façade (fig. 267). The pier supports the first archivolts of the north nave arcade, which project from a height of 1.25 m. above floor level; that is, about 0.25 m. below the springing level of the adjacent nave north-east arcade, from which it is separated only by the end pier of the nave. The first arch of the nave, as well as still intact, rests on the end pier to the left, and on the first column of the colonnade to the right (fig. 261). This column has a granite shaft supported by an oval base with an unusually high pedestal, the seating of the pedestal corresponding fairly well in level with the eastern part of the nave façade. The granite shaft is crowned by a marble capital of simplified Gallician pattern with unseparated leaves, these are only four leaves in the upper tier compared with eight in the lower, and the volutes at the angles above are very simply executed (fig. 261). Over the capital lies a travertine pulvino with *ovata* profile on which the impost of the back archivolts rests. The arch is built with bipedals and the masonry of the spandrel is brick with four courses of tuffelli. This brickwork continues for eight courses above the apex of the extrados, after which the wall reverts to *opus lobatum* (fig. 261). Three courses above the extrados is another bipedal binding course.<sup>1</sup> The *opus lobatum* continues for 3 m. and then, nearly 20 m. above floor level, the early masonry is replaced by later construction. No trace of an original clerestory window is seen in the surviving masonry, but the *literna* breaks off at a level below the height of 11.05 m., where clerestory windows do occur in the west part of the nave,<sup>2</sup> and 1.20 m. short of the window sills in the east façade, 11.43 m. above floor level.

The bipedal courses of the original arcade continue in the second aisle almost as far as the apex; west of this point the masonry of the archivolts and the wall above changes radically. Evidently the original structure was destroyed in some disaster, probably a fire, which spared only the east arch and less than half of the adjacent archivolts, and the arcade to the west was subsequently rebuilt in masonry of a later period (figs. 261, 262). In place of bipedals the archivolts

<sup>1</sup> MATHIAS, p. 28, p. 107.

<sup>2</sup> Fig. 119. West door, exterior. (A bipedal binding course remains to the right.)

<sup>3</sup> See below, p. 204.



Fig. 106. S. Cecilia. North wall of nave, east end. Fig. 107. S. Cecilia. North wall of nave, west end and apse.

reconstructed or radiating arches in which most windows are composed of two short bricks. While the ligatures are over 1.50 m. in length, the restored archivolts are only 0.50 m. long. Nevertheless the columns on which these arches rest are likely to be the original ones, since many of the shafts and capitals closely resemble those which survive at the east end of the colonnade; generally they were salvaged from the original church. However, some of the columns may have been lost, and perhaps for this reason the rebuilders followed a prevailing fashion and, in restoring the colonnade, replaced every third column with a rectangular pier, 1.20 m. wide. Thus the row of supports was divided into five groups of three arches each, similar to the arrangement in the upper church of S. Clemente and at S. Maria in Cosmedin.<sup>1</sup> The piers are built of small broken bricks indifferently mixed with lumps of tufa, where a modulus can be measured we find as many as 7 courses per Roman foot. However, the surface of the piers that we now see on the church exterior was not intended as the original appearance, but was produced by taking away the original surface. It seems that the piers formerly stood forward from the line of the arcade. Thus they would have protruded like buttresses from the wall face when the arches were finally walled up. To avoid this they were added back to a common plane, and what we now see is no more than the core of the former piers. The real character of the masonry of the rebuilt arcade is seen in the spandrels and above the archivolts, where six courses of brick alternating with six of mortar stand 1 R. ft. high, the bricks being small and of varying thickness

<sup>1</sup> *Ann. Inst. Arch.*, 1901, pp. 111-12.

while the mortar between the individual units is highly porous. This technique is frequently found in Rome in work of the sixth century and early to seventh centuries, as on the facade and of S. Maria Maggiore<sup>2</sup> and the upper walls of the Lateran transept.

The spandrel was the result of building non-continuous courses of small bricks for a length of eight courses. The structure is then reinforced on both sides by a course for three courses higher up, so that random rubble with thin plaster

is recovered *opera a tutto*, a technique often used in Roman buildings at the time of Sixtus IV. (Fig. 108).<sup>3</sup> At a height of 1.60 m. above the apex of the arcade, the wall was formerly pierced by a row of six pointed windows, four equally but not related to the height of the colonnade. The shape of the windows proclaims them the work of Sixtus IV's builders. Each opening was 1.20 m. wide and 2.00 m. high from sill to apex and was surmounted by a gabled enclosure. Since the Sistine windows do not correspond with the arcade, we assume that the arcade were sealed up and the apse abandoned in the early fifteenth century, three of the pointed windows were walled up and three were replaced by rectangular openings (Fig. 108).

Of the four rectangular piers which divide the nave colonnade into five rows of triple arches, the first three are alike, and their construction has been described above, but the fourth, the westernmost pier, is different (Fig. 109, 110). This pier projects into the church interior, where it forms a buttress, thus separating the nave from the chancel; it is therefore perpendicular to the colonnade instead of being parallel with it like the other piers (Fig. 108). It also projects externally and forms the abutment of an arch which crosses the flying buttress side from north to south (Fig. 109). In construction also, this pier is distinct from the other three. The visible portion is faced with large bricks with a modulus of five courses per R. ft. wall finished with unmarked *falsa cortina* painting as it is characteristic of Romanesque building in Rome.<sup>4</sup> The arch



Fig. 108. Sistine window in Basilica of Santa Cecilia.



Fig. 109. S. Cecilia. East wall of nave, west end of arcade with Sistine window and false cortina.

<sup>2</sup> *Ann. Inst. Arch.*, 1901, p. 112.

<sup>3</sup> *Ann. Inst. Arch.*, 1901, p. 112.

<sup>4</sup> *Ann. Inst. Arch.*, 1901, p. 112.

which, unlike the aisle openings from the porch, is best seen by viewing the arrangement of the nave arcade, or at least of large niches, on a brick compass, who finished work from some point on, and the same type of construction is seen in the spandrels above. At the point where the nave arcade intersects the remains of the pier and cross arch it is clear that the latter was already existing when the arcade was built, and that a rough floor had to be cut through the false masonry wall here to allow the lower courses of the continuous nave arch. Hence the transverse pier and arch is certainly older than the nave arcade which abuts it on the east side. From the style of brickwork and pointing it might be assigned to the twelfth or thirteenth century, whereas the masonry technique of the rebuilt nave arcade, no less than the relation between the two piers, indicates that the nave arcade is later. The transverse arch was later blocked with masonry corresponding with the blocking material of the nave arcade. A small door broken through the blocked transverse arch leads into a chamber which adjoins the presbytery, but is inaccessible from inside the church (pl. XVIII, fig. 270).

Inside this semicircular chamber west of the Romanesque transverse pier and arch, three more arches continue the nave arcade before reaching the end of the area originally occupied by the aisle. However, these three arches do not belong to the series of an aisle that was rebuilt in the High Middle Ages and described above. Instead, they evidently date from the original fabric of the church. Indeed, like the easternmost arch of the north arcade, the three west arches are constructed of bipedals and the masonry joints show signs of convex double-faceted pointing. Also, a passage into the flank of the Romanesque pier has revealed a column shaft inside. This too must belong to the original colonnade, for a column in this location was necessary to support the antepenultimate arch of the nave arcade. Presumably the next two columns and the terminating end part of the arcade also still exist, though now hidden by plaster. Certainly they were visible when Salustio Penze made his sketch plan, as was the outer wall of the aisle (fig. 270); the hemicycle which now conceals this wall was presumably built in the remodeling of 1509 and intended as an apsidal cyclical opening from the north end of the chancel and accessible through the triple arcade.<sup>1</sup> Finally, the end wall of the aisle still stands at the end of the



Fig. 269. S. Vitale, North (western) part.

Fig. 269. S. Vitale, Aisle and wall of north aisle.

<sup>1</sup> Despite being lost on the site of S. Vitale, the passage is indicated below the masonry wall in the sketch.

CHURCH, S. VITALE, East of the Romanesque transverse arch. The end part of the nave arcade and pier is visible through the opening. In the foreground, the masonry of the aisle clearly shows the traces of being in the past and had an air-circulation device, the opening of the aisle, was built in the thirteenth century (pl. 270).

An added pierce of the lower part of the nave arcade that was rebuilt in the High Middle Ages into upper part of the nave wall and corresponding arch from remodeling aisle also join date from the remodeling of thirteenth century. In contrast to the nave wall work represents the fact that this system was built above the roof of the semicircular chamber in east of nave. Indeed, end it apparently part of the original plan (fig. 270). The transverse masonry is, indeed, mostly in the same line level and though blocked by plaster (masonry is apparently contemporary by the original masonry masonry). But, although this wall corresponds exactly to plan of the masonry and third of the pier in the opposite wall, the north wall of the nave (R.K.). The masonry masonry is built in the same line level and the same line level (pl. 270).

#### 4. The south wall of the nave

The north side of the nave presents the same features as the north wall, hence that the masonry and arches are not visible. This has been long time removed and replaced by a plaster wall in the early thirteenth century that wall. Although the masonry masonry masonry masonry



Fig. 268. S. Vitale, South wall of nave, transverse arch to end wall of aisle and north chancel.



Fig. 267. S. Vitale, North (western) part.

<sup>1</sup> In the sketch plan of the church, the passage is indicated below the masonry wall in the sketch.



and the tracery of the window openings which replace those of Sixtus IV, except, of course, the double pointed form for the north side. Moreover, a Romanesque transverse arch in the wall's projection *protra* in the nave reflects the corresponding features of the north aisle. This arch, just blocked up *intra* the east wall of the present sacristy (fig. 266).

Corresponding to the remains of the original fabric, above the westernmost triple bay of the south wall of the nave, the stretch of wall on the south side which extends from the Romanesque cross arch to the west end wall of the former south aisle is also constructed in *opus testaceum* (fig. 267). Rising above the terrace roof of the Sacristy, the ancient masonry is better preserved than on the north side; at the extreme southwest corner of the nave it reaches a height of 13.40 m. above floor level. The high wall crosses at a vertical face 1.42 m. east of the external southwest corner. This feature is obviously the left jamb of the westernmost clerestory window. The window embrasure is blocked by a wall which supports a modest bellify of late sixteenth century date, but the opening of the Early Christian window is clearly indicated through the differences in masonry (fig. 267). The sill is formed by a horizontal course of large bricks, 10.45 m. above floor level. The right jamb of the window is now lost, for the *testaceum* wall has been cut

down to sill level for the remainder of its surviving length (fig. 266). About 10 m. east of the southwest corner of the nave, the *testaceum* masonry breaks off in an uneven, approximately vertical line which corresponds to the eastern face of the Romanesque cross arch buttresses, east of this the south wall is apparently of fifteenth century date.

#### 5. The west wall and apse

The west wall and apse of the original building stand intact to within a meter or so of what must have been their full height (pl. XVIII; fig. 264). The structure is composed of the same *opus testaceum* as the other parts of the original structure, except that brick courses are occasionally doubled and one band of four brick courses passes around the wall at the level of the springing of the apse arch. Inside, the present apse is smaller than the original one and measures but 8.30 m. in diameter instead of the original 11.30 m. (pl. XVIII). The smaller apse was probably created by lining the original one



Fig. 264. SE View. Remains of original apse wall.

with a strong inner wall, but we are unable to establish its date, whether 1392 to 1405 or earlier, or to give reasons for its construction. The lining, in any event, carries the present half dome which rises to an apex 12 m. above floor level. The original apse was taller as well as larger; where the springing of the apse arch is visible externally beside the cylindrical wall (fig. 264), its base is 10.50 m. above floor level and its apex must have risen to about 16.5 m. The upper part of the original vault has collapsed, but a zone at the base of the vault about 1 m. high, is visible in the attic story which lies between the extrados of the

present and lost roof and the original floor level (pl. XXI). The original half dome is constructed with pointed arches and a passage does not display any trace of ancient decorative features, painting or mosaics might be discovered beneath the surface.

#### F. RECONSTRUCTION

The main outlines of the original church are easily reconstructed (fig. 254, 262). The narthex consists basically, including its floor and flanking arcades. The nave was entered from the narthex through a quadruple arcade, over 200 R. ft. high from the threshold to the apex of the arches. The nave was 150 R. ft. long and its width was 50 R. ft. between the centers of the columns. It was separated from the aisles by arched colonnades of 15 arches each, supported by granite columns. The Corinthian and Composite capitals of these columns were



Fig. 262. N. View. Reconstruction.

probably made expressly for the church. The nave arcades are slightly lower than the arches of the facade wall. At the west end the nave terminated in an apse 30 R. ft. in internal diameter in domical vault rose belted in apex with springing at a level 30 R. ft. above floor level. The apex of the vault was probably about 60 R. ft. high. The nave was lit by five large windows in the east facade wall, over 440 sq. ft. above floor level and over 60 columns, by clerestory windows above and over the apse 2 ft. lower than those of the east wall. Presumably there were three windows on each side and all the windows were capped by semicircular arches, they must have been about 6 R. ft. wide and 10 feet 7 1/2 R. ft. high to the springing of their arches. Given the total height of the doming (150 R. ft.), we can compute the width of the spaces between the windows, the corner ones and each 1/2 R. ft. wide, and the total width of three windows at 6 R. ft. each (30 R. ft.), the remainder, 50 R. ft., divides into fourteen intervals of 3 1/2 R. ft. each. A outside feature of the church was the great height of wall between the apex of the nave vault and the sill of the clerestory windows, nearly 60 R. ft. high; this blank wall recalls the appearance of St. Germain e Paris and like it was presumably embellished with paintings or mosaics.

In an early remodeling still Early Christian, the quintuple arcade through which the nave then communicated with the nave was walled up and replaced by three deeper vaulted into the nave and gable arches.

In the Romanesque, the west portion of the arches and nave were separated from the nave by semicircular arches thrust across the aisles from piers projecting into the nave. We can picture that the piers originally supported a large triumphal arch, traversing the nave.

Later, the part of the nave east of the Romanesque transverse arches was destroyed, proba-

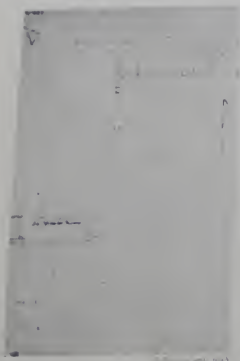


Fig. 276. S. Vitale. Schematic plan.



Fig. 277. S. Vitale. Elevation, south facade.

ble by fire, except for the east wall and the most easterly arches of the nave colonnades. The narthex, east facade and the part of the nave to the west of the transverse arches were spared. In repairing the disaster the ruined arcades were restored; some of the columns were reused but others were replaced with rectangular piers: these were arranged so that the arcades were divided into groups of three arches. We are inclined to think that when the restored walls had reached a height of about 2 m. above the apex of the nave, the work came to a standstill. In two successive phases the church was remodelled: the arcades were blocked and the arches abolished, except in their west portions, corresponding to the three last bays of the nave arcades; the clerestory walls, except for their east and west ends, were rebuilt and pierced with ranges of six pointed windows on each side (figs. 262, 266). Finally, in a second remodeling the interior was reforested; the narthex arcade was walled up and the remnants of the aisles in the west became exedrae, entered from the chancel through the triple arches which survived from the original nave arcade (figs. 250, 251).

## G. CHRONOLOGY

There is no doubt that the original location dates from the post-Constantinian (see p. 117). The documentary evidence presented by the *Libri Pontificales* regarding the dedication, list of the founder Vesting (reconstructed) coincides with the archaeological data. The technique of construction (in 270s building and brick; the original double facing of the nave piers, the proportions of the nave, the nave façade opening in a quintuple arcade and preceded by an arcaded narthex) are all features which support this date. The latter characteristic in particular finds its exact counterpart in Roman churches dating from about 300, namely S. Clemente, dated ca. 380; Church A of S. Pietro in Vincoli, ca. 400; SS. Giovanni e Paolo, shortly after 410, and possibly S. Paulenziana<sup>1</sup>.

Mr. John Heilmann kindly supplies the following note:

"A number of capitals carrying fifth century arches remain in their original places, in the open façade (figs. 273, 275), in the frontal portico (fig. 273), and on the first and twelfth columns of the right nave arcade. All are schematic composites; since they fit their shafts, it is very likely they were newly made for the basilica. Other capitals in the rebuilt part of S. Vitale must likewise have come from the original construction. This group of capitals stands out

from other sets of schematic composites in Late Classical Churches (S. Paolo fuori S. Mura, S. Stefano Rotondo) in exhibiting a rare degree of variety and originality. Both the best zone and the main part of the capital are varied. The soft, low-quality capital of the frontal portico bay is only



Fig. 273. S. Vitale. Capital of the frontal portico.



Fig. 274. S. Vitale. Capital of the frontal portico.



Fig. 275. S. Vitale. Capital of the frontal portico.



Fig. 276. S. Vitale. Capital of the frontal portico.

<sup>1</sup> *Monumenti di architettura cristiana*, Vol. I, fasc. 1, 1913, pp. 10, 11, and Vol. III, fasc. 1, 1913, p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> See above p. 65.

one pair of scrolls that volume by scrolls emerging from the impost, fig. 22a). The double-headed capitals of the seven aisles have the normal two rings of eight leaves but almost certainly also a 7th ring. In the last-mentioned colonnades of the basiscs, capital again have two rings of leaves, but the middle leaf of the upper ring may be flat against the abacus (fig. 22c) or may be turned upwards (fig. 22d). In a pair of capitals that may originally have come from the eastern apse supporting the frontal portion, the lower ring is multiplied to 12 and then 14 leaves (fig. 22e). Normal composite volutes are exchanged for compound volutes on long acutes in the 'laurel-leaf' colonnade. The same represents an effort to breathe new life into a conventional capital type through continuous change of details of the leafy apparatus.<sup>1</sup>

The blocking of the multiple arcades which opened into the nave from the narthex must have occurred shortly after the church had been completed. It corresponds exactly to the change which occurs about 132 to 130 at S. Pietro in Vincoli (Church A) and at SS. Giovanni e Paolo.<sup>2</sup>

The later remodelings of S. Vitale can be dated either by their technique of construction, by their style or by their masonry evidence. The triple arch which apparently divided the last three aisles from the rest of the nave seems Romanesque from its *fabasortis* profile, possibly it dates from the twelfth century. The restoration of the nave arcade in which every third column was replaced by a pier is harder to date; the rhythmic alternation of supports is characteristic of the eleventh and early twelfth century practice in Rome, as in the restoration of the fourth and the building of the upper church at S. Clemente, after 1084 and prior to 1128 respectively, the present church of the Quattro Coronati, dated 1116, and the rebuilding of S. Maria in Cosmedin at about the same time.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, the technique of masonry associates with Roman building custom of the later Middle Ages, as represented for instance by the fourteenth century campaign of S. Maria Maggiore. Thus we must assume that the rhythmic alternation of supports at S. Vitale belatedly takes up a design prevalent in Rome about 1100, but possibly continuing for some 1000. The wall of Nicola di Caporici, who in 1368 directed his funds to provide for the repair of the church,<sup>4</sup> might possibly indicate the date for this campaign of reconstruction. The abolition of IV and is dated 1122 by his inscription on the door (fig. 2). Usually the decoration of the interior with frescoes, the establishment of new altars, and the transformation of the last bay of the north aisle into a hemispherical apse were effected in the late thirteenth century remodeling.<sup>5</sup>

## II. HISTORICAL POSITION

S. Vitale is well dated and easily visualized in its original state. It represents to perfection the type of the Early Christian basilica in Rome shortly after 300 A.D. In plan, it contained more, two aisles and hemispherical apse; it was constructed of comparatively light walls supporting timber roofs over all parts, except the half dome of the apse; in its proportions, the length of the nave is three times its width, and its height is six-fifths of the width; the broad,

<sup>1</sup> See also fig. 22a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h, i, j, k, l, m, n, o, p, q, r, s, t, u, v, w, x, y, z.

<sup>2</sup> See also fig. 22a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h, i, j, k, l, m, n, o, p, q, r, s, t, u, v, w, x, y, z.

<sup>3</sup> See also fig. 22a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h, i, j, k, l, m, n, o, p, q, r, s, t, u, v, w, x, y, z.

<sup>4</sup> See also fig. 22a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h, i, j, k, l, m, n, o, p, q, r, s, t, u, v, w, x, y, z.

<sup>5</sup> See also fig. 22a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h, i, j, k, l, m, n, o, p, q, r, s, t, u, v, w, x, y, z.

aisle had later temporary colonnades and arcades opened (fig. 22a). It is a typical example of the design of the capitals (fig. 22a) in the only female column capital preserved in the city. Some traces of these features are preserved in exceptional detail at the north-western corner, where the transept opened on the right; the height of the nave arcade — fifteen feet — formed all the east-west masonry thickness, and perhaps this led to the considerable height of the nave to receive the apex of the vaults and the decorated windows.

INDEX OF CHURCHES AND ILLUSTRATIONS  
FOURTH VOLUME

Abbreviations of frequently used names

Preface

SS. QUATTRO CORONATI

Figure 1. Choir's and sacristy from north-west, 38. 1899. — 2. Gate tower and entrance to outer court. — 3. Inner courtyard, arches of north arcade of west-work. — 4. Interior looking west. — 5. South transept wall showing elevatory wall of choir-chancel. — 6. Ground plan of church and forecourt. — 7. Apse (exterior). — 8. Base of northwest corner transept seen from east. — 9. Substructure of north aisle and intermediate buttress. — 10. Remains of east and eastern end of north choir. — 11. Section. — 12. Reconstruction drawing of a detail, 1952-1953. — 13. Building of the north of north-aisle west wall showing Carolingian details. — 14. Outer court looking toward gateway tower. — 15. Outer court, westernmost arch of north-aisle. — 16. Inner court, north-east end pier of Carolingian nave. — 17. Inner court, southeast end pier of Carolingian nave. — 18. Inner court, southeast end pier of Carolingian nave, showing remains of classical column surmounted in Carolingian fashion. — 19. Reconstruction of Carolingian nave cornice. — 20. North colonnade (architectural view from southwest corner beneath inner court). — 21. West side of colonnade, inner court, ante-entree walls. — 22. South side of inner north-aisle. — 23. Pavement in western half of north-aisle. — 24. Southeast corner of chancel's (vestry's) of north-aisle. — 25. North transept of present church. — 26. Carolingian crypt with niche for lamp. — 27. North-aisle wall, east end. — 28. South-chapel, exterior. — 29. South-chapel, interior. — 30. Reconstructed plan of original apsidal building. — 31. Reconstructed plan of Carolingian building. — 32. Suggested reconstruction of Carolingian gate tower and porch from northeast. — 33. Reconstruction of early Romanesque basilica.

Plate I. Ground plan, II, a) Longitudinal section, b) North elevation (western part), c) West elevation.

SS. QUIRICO E GIULITTA

Figure 32. Giovannioli. View of church from south-west corner (*forum transeptum, thür*). — 33. Scavozzo. View of church from south across *forum transeptum*, 1982. — 34. Foa Natta. Façade of church with former apse, 1986. — 35. Relative levels from first century through eighteenth century. — 36. Finds below present nave plan. — 37. South wall of nave. — 38. Finds below present nave, longitudinal section. — 39. Apse A, below present base level north side of nave. — 40. Plan of church prior to 1728. — 41. Base of altar, original church. — 42. Original church, chapel on south side of forum, junction between wall I<sup>a</sup> and F. — 43. West-eastern window of nave pavement. — 44. South wall, two easternmost windows. — 45. Westernmost window of nave pavement. — 46. South wall, window above north-aisle. — 47. North-east corner of nave with Romanesque cornice of north wall and remains of original window in east wall. — 48. Hypothetical reconstruction of church in the sixteenth century, based on known details of south wall and view of west façade in 1986.

Plate III. Ground plan, elevation, cross-section



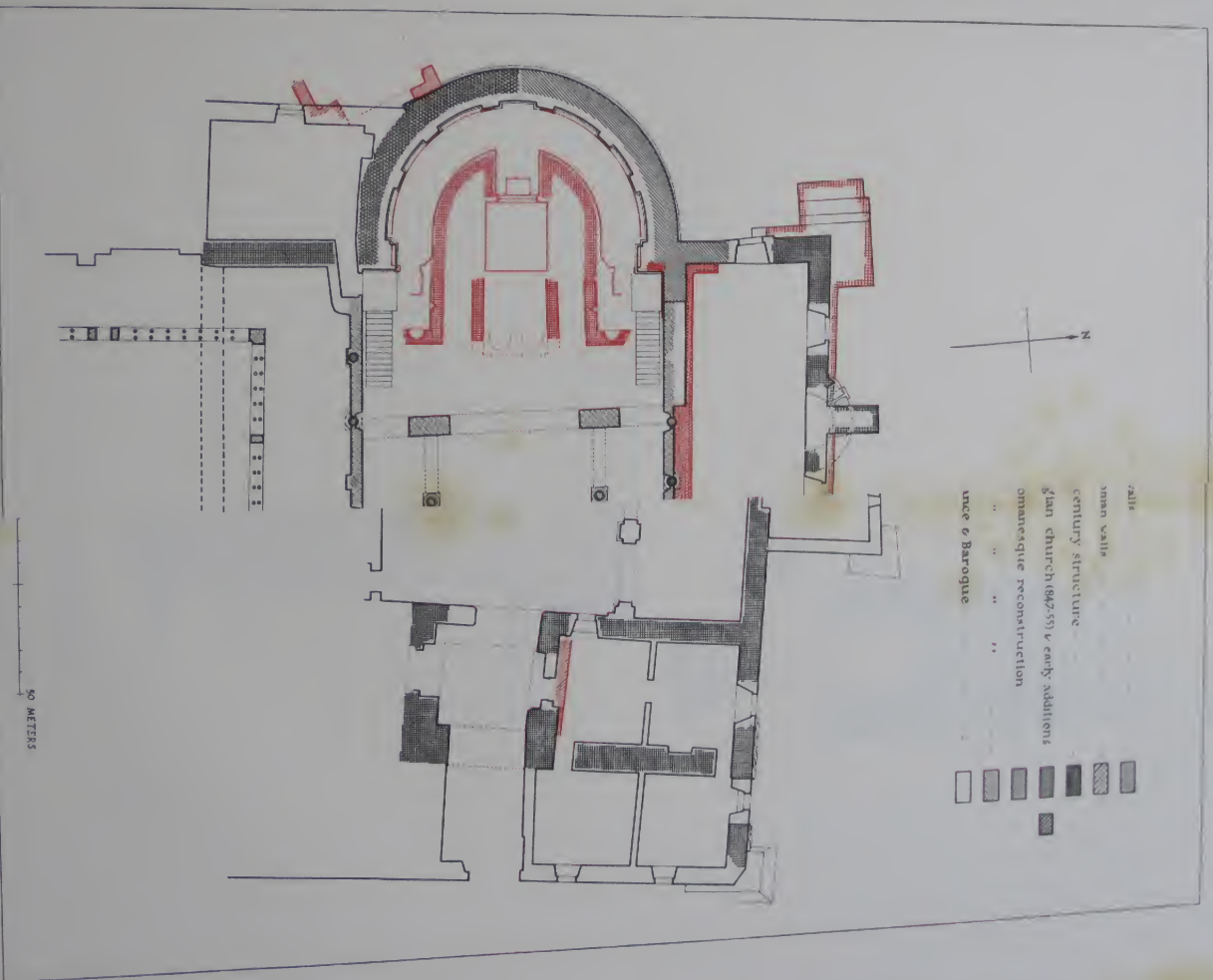


## S. VITALE

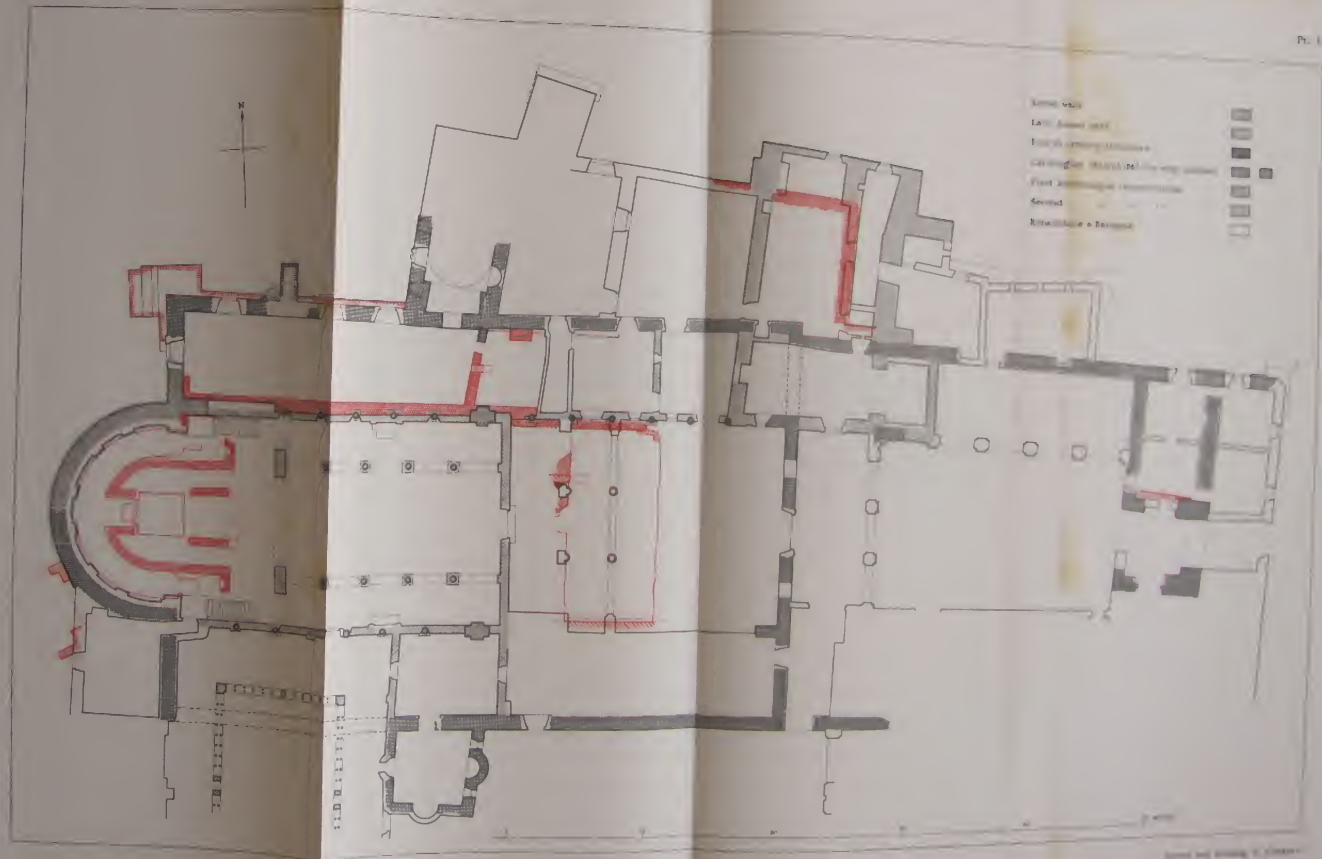
313

- Figure 250: An view, 1612; 251: Interior, 1611; 252: Façade, 1753; Masonry of façade, detail - 254; Narthex, capital and arcades of façade - 255; Façade of narthex - 256; Narthex, interior arcade - 257; Narthex, interior arcade, threshold and base of pier - 258; Narthex, interior, westwork of arch - 259; Narthex, interior, facing north - 260; North wall of nave, east end - 261; North wall of nave, column and arcades, east end - 262; North wall of nave, arcade - 263; North wall of nave, west end of arcade and transverse arch, with *abaco columnae pueri* - 264; Apse and left edge - end wall of north aisle - 265; North clerestory, western part - 266; South wall of nave, transverse arch in east wall of sacristy, and south clerestory - 267; South clerestory, west end - 268; Remains of original apse vault - 269; Reconstruction - 270; Silvestro Peruzzi, plan - 271; Fra Santi, façade - 272; Capital, demolished at altar - 273; Last arcade, capital - 274; narthex, capital - 275; East arcade, capital.

Plaf. XVIII: East front, longitudinal section, ground plan.







a. Longitudinal Section



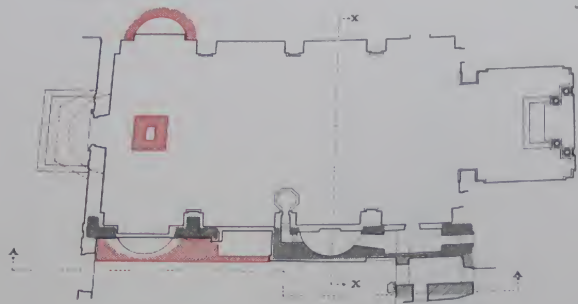
b. North Elevation (western part)






- | Section | Elevation |
|---------|-----------|
|         |           |
|         |           |
|         |           |
|         |           |
|         |           |
|         |           |
|         |           |



SS. QUIRICO E GIULITTA

Pl. III



-  16th CENT. WALLS 1560
-  16th CENT. ARCHITECTURE
-  17th CENT. ARCHITECTURE
-  18th CENT.
-  19th CENT.

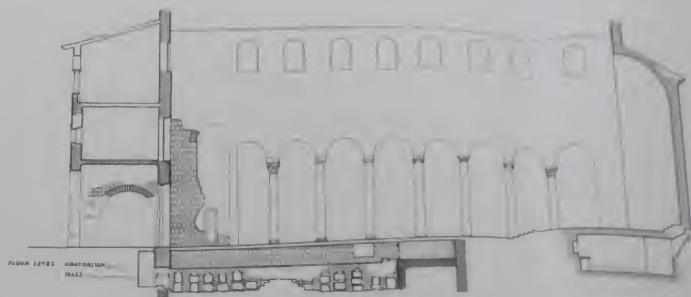


Elevation A-A








Cross Section X-X

Survey and drawing by CORBETT

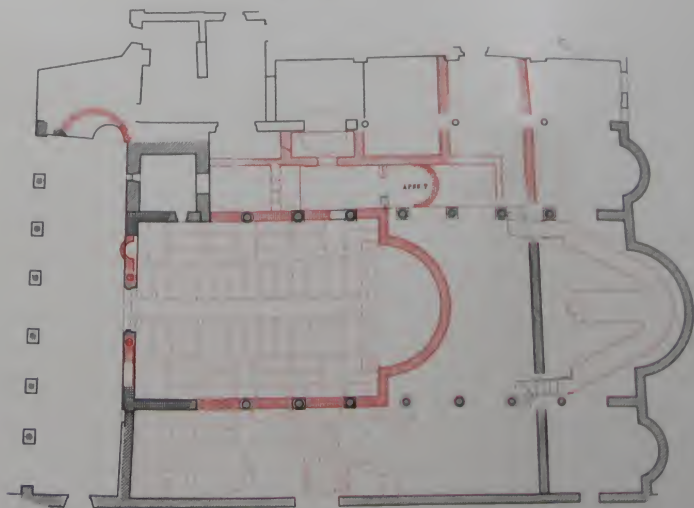


0 5 10 15 20 25 30 M



-  Roman.
-  The Hall: (v<sup>th</sup> cent.)
-  Oratorium: first period: vii<sup>th</sup> cent.
-  Oratorium: later additions.
-  Basilica

Walls shown in red  
are below basilica  
floor level.



Survey and drawing, S. CORBETT

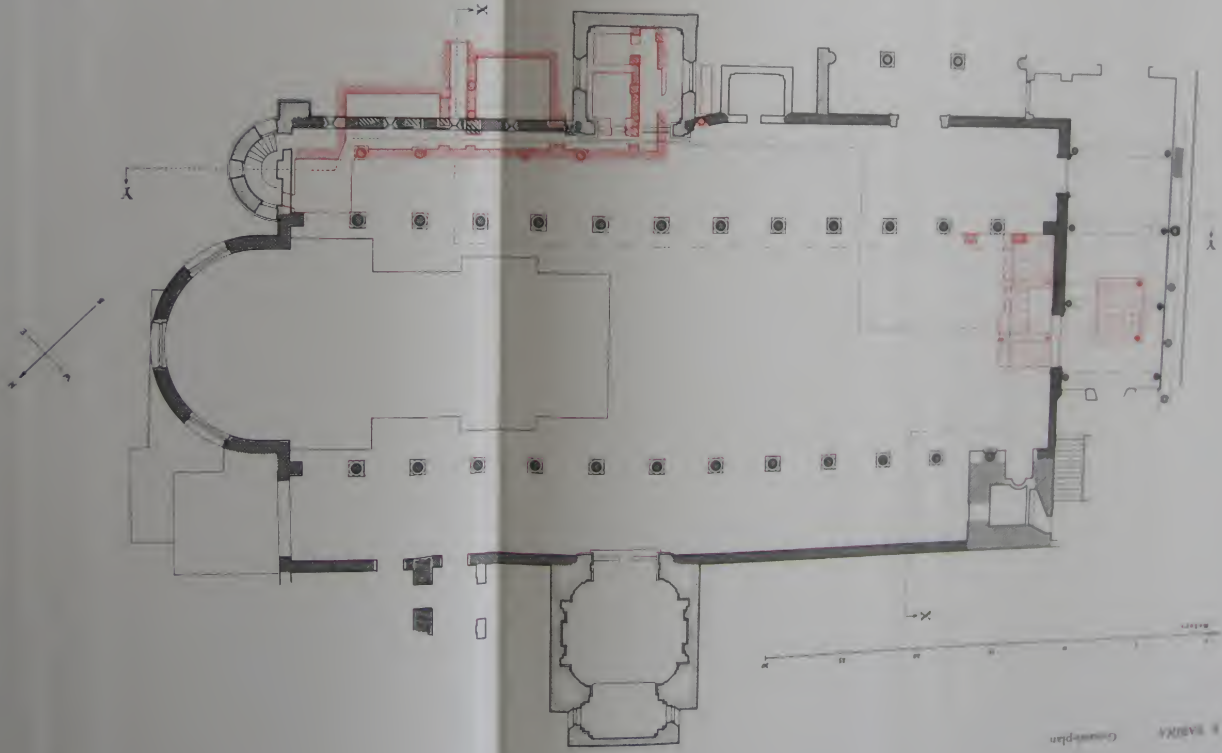
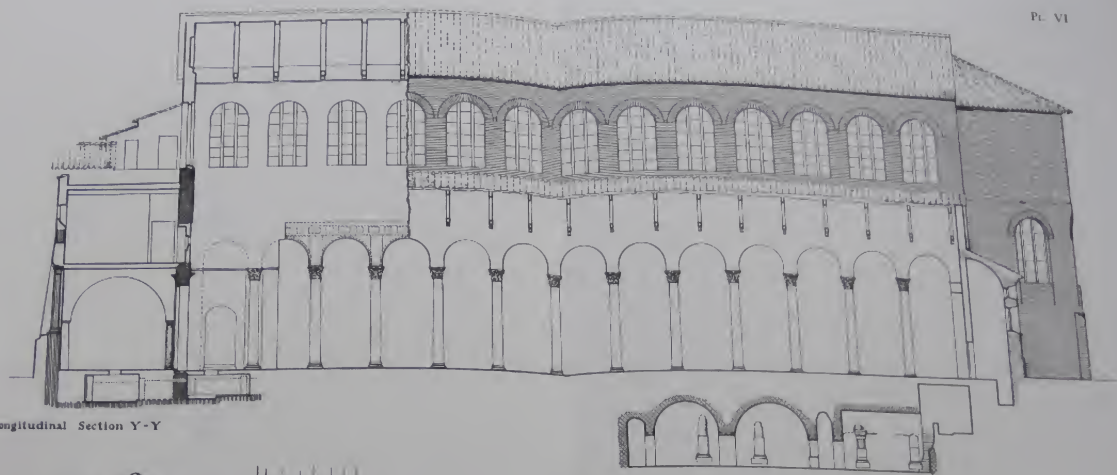
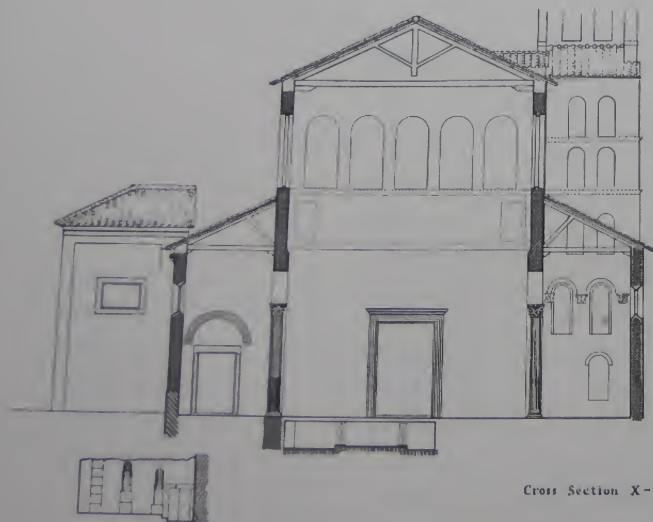










Fig. 14. BARRACKS  
Ground-plan

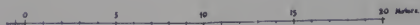


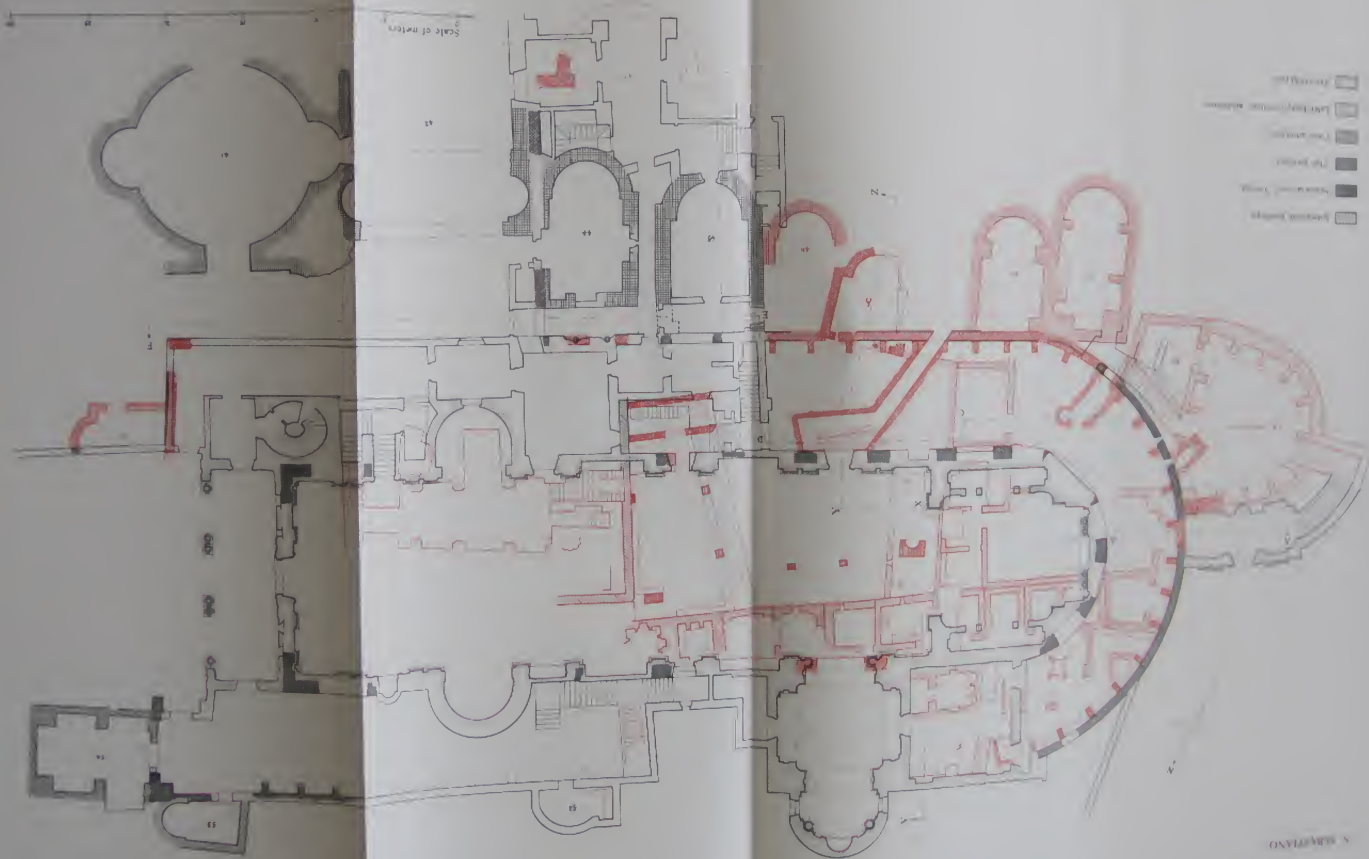
Longitudinal Section Y-Y



Cross Section X-X

-  Roman, 1<sup>st</sup> cent. (I)
-  Roman, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent.
-  Roman, later
-  Pavement with cancelli and associated arcading; prob. 4<sup>th</sup> cent.
-  Adjacent buildings; before 3<sup>rd</sup> cent.
-  The church; ca. 430 A.D.
-  Romanesque.
-  15<sup>th</sup> - 17<sup>th</sup> cent.



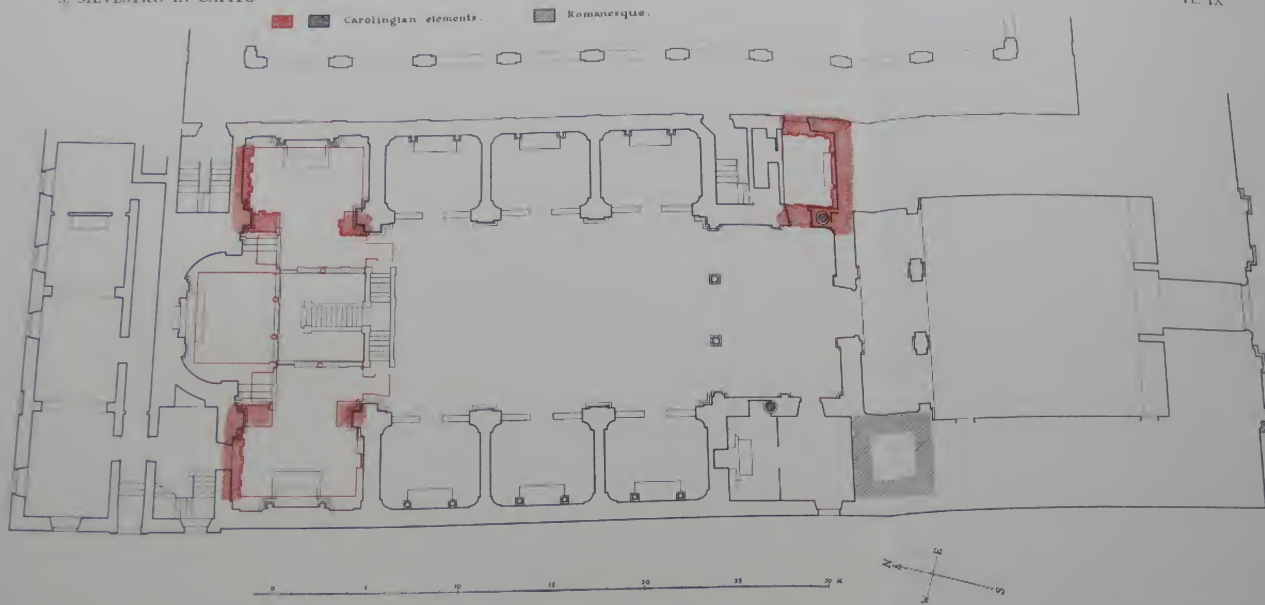




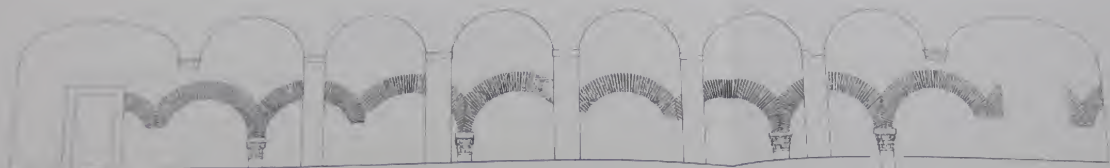


S. SILVESTRO IN CAPITO

PL. IX



Survey and drawing, S. CORBETT

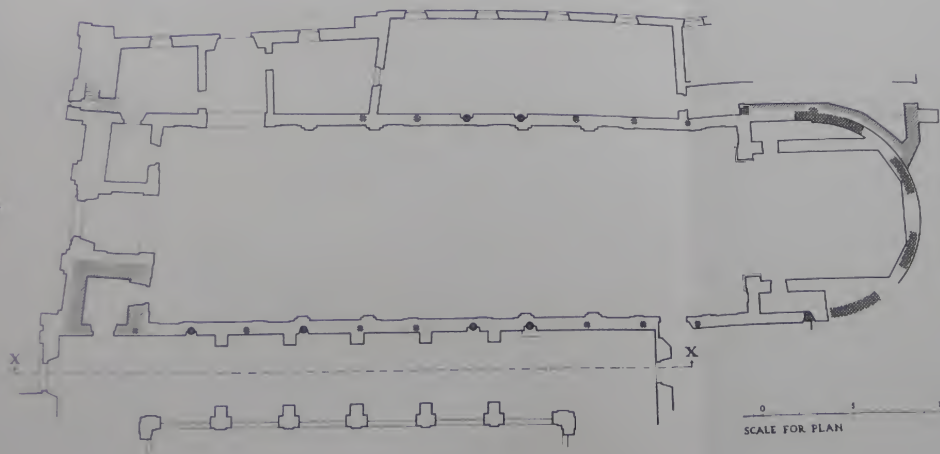


Long Section X-X

SCALE FOR ELEVATION



conjectural restoration



Colonnades and brick walls of v-cent church.






*Opus listatum* (v-cent)

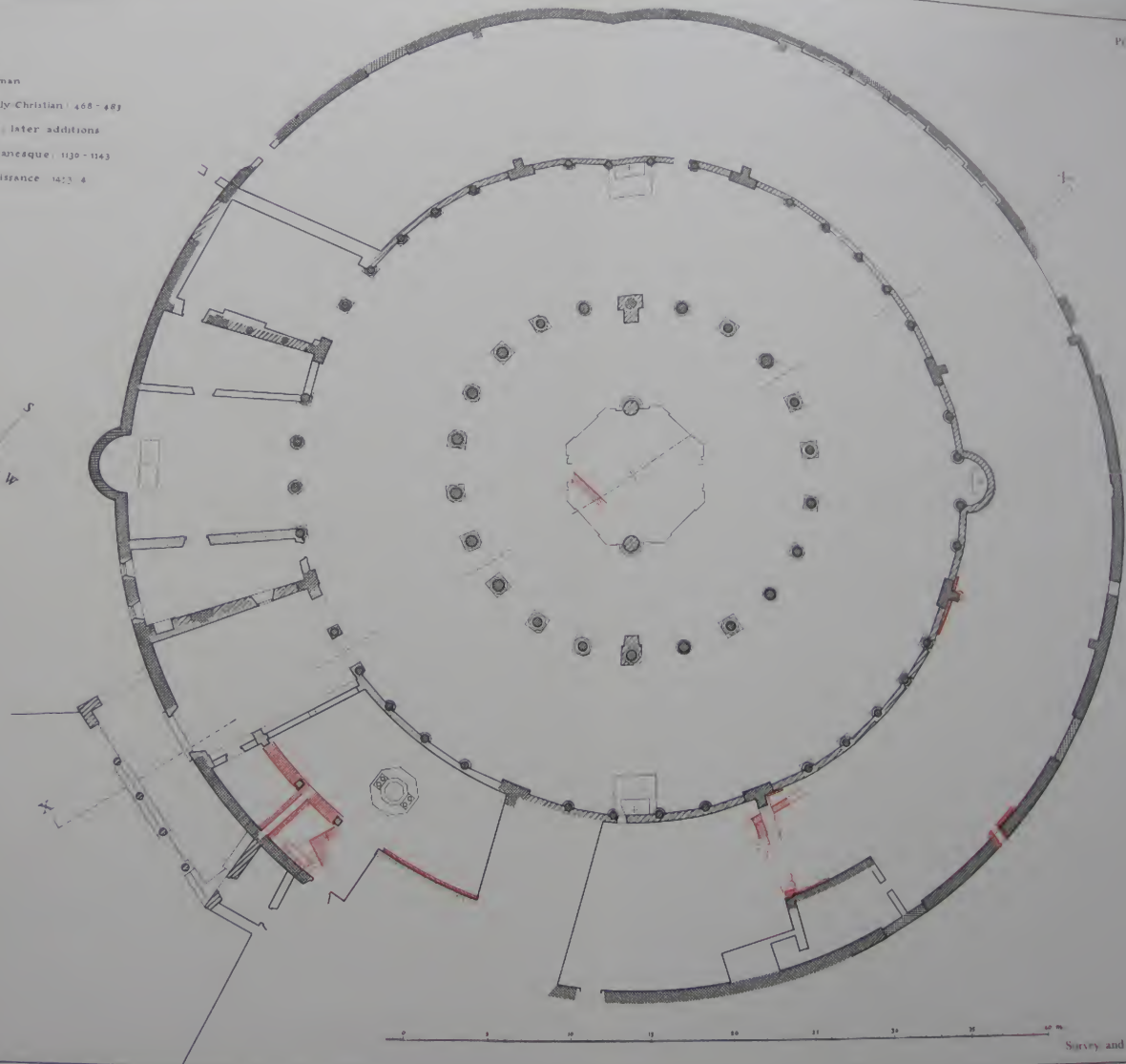
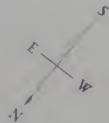
Romanesque

Later

SCALE FOR PLAN



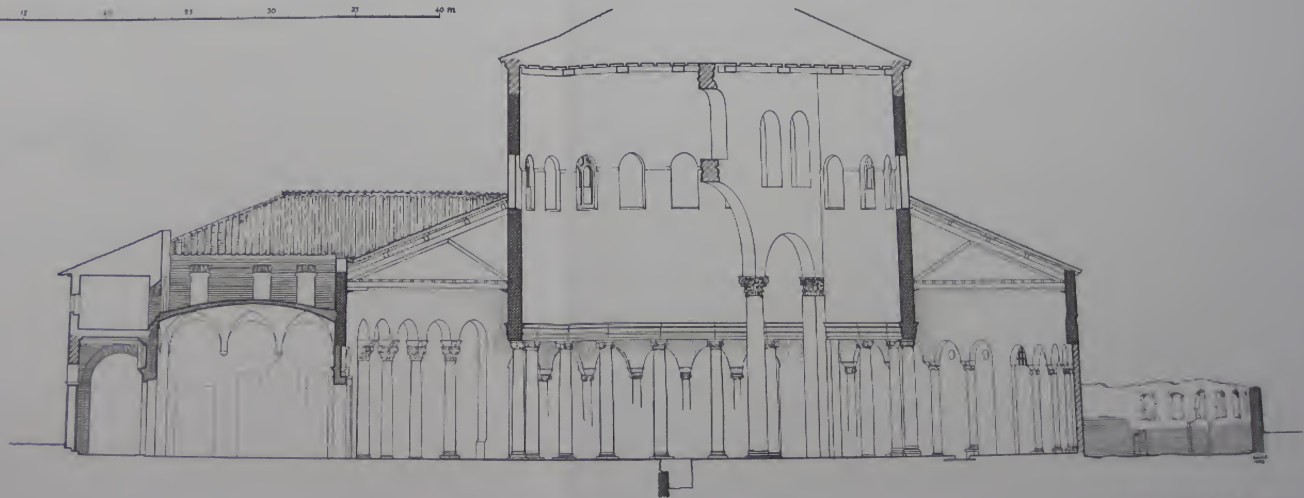
-  Roman
-  Early Christian 468 - 489
-  E-C later additions
-  Romanesque 1130 - 1143
-  Renaissance 1423 - 4

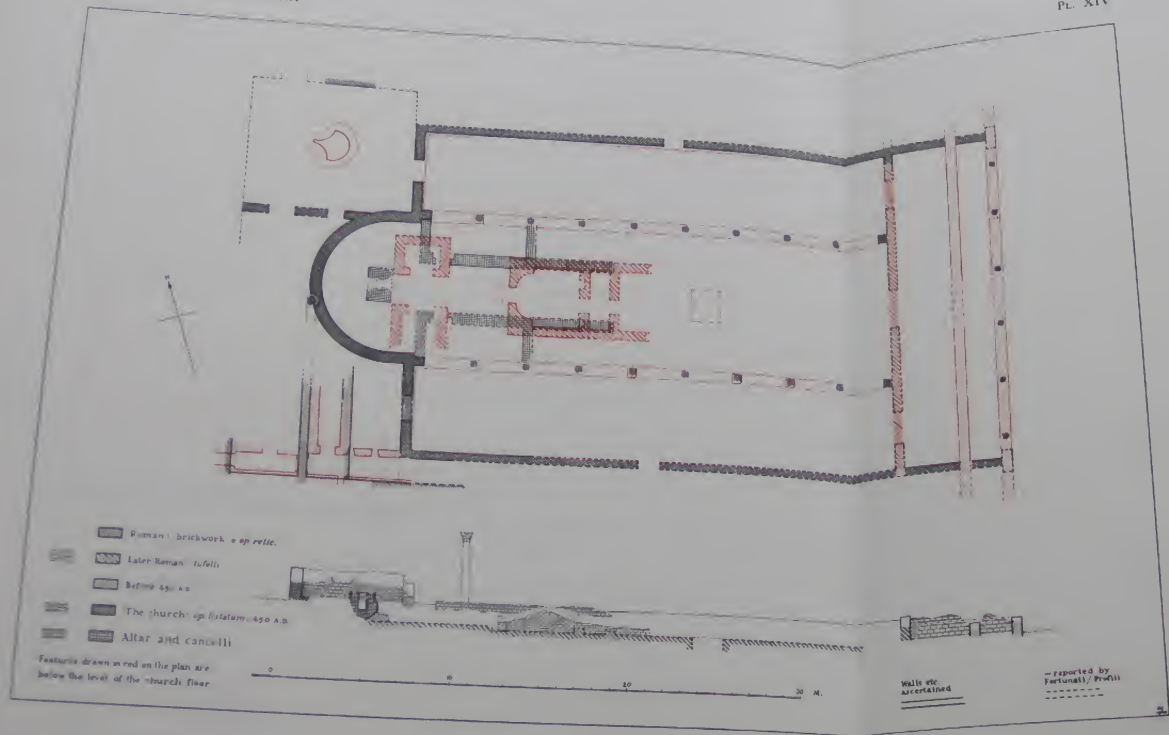




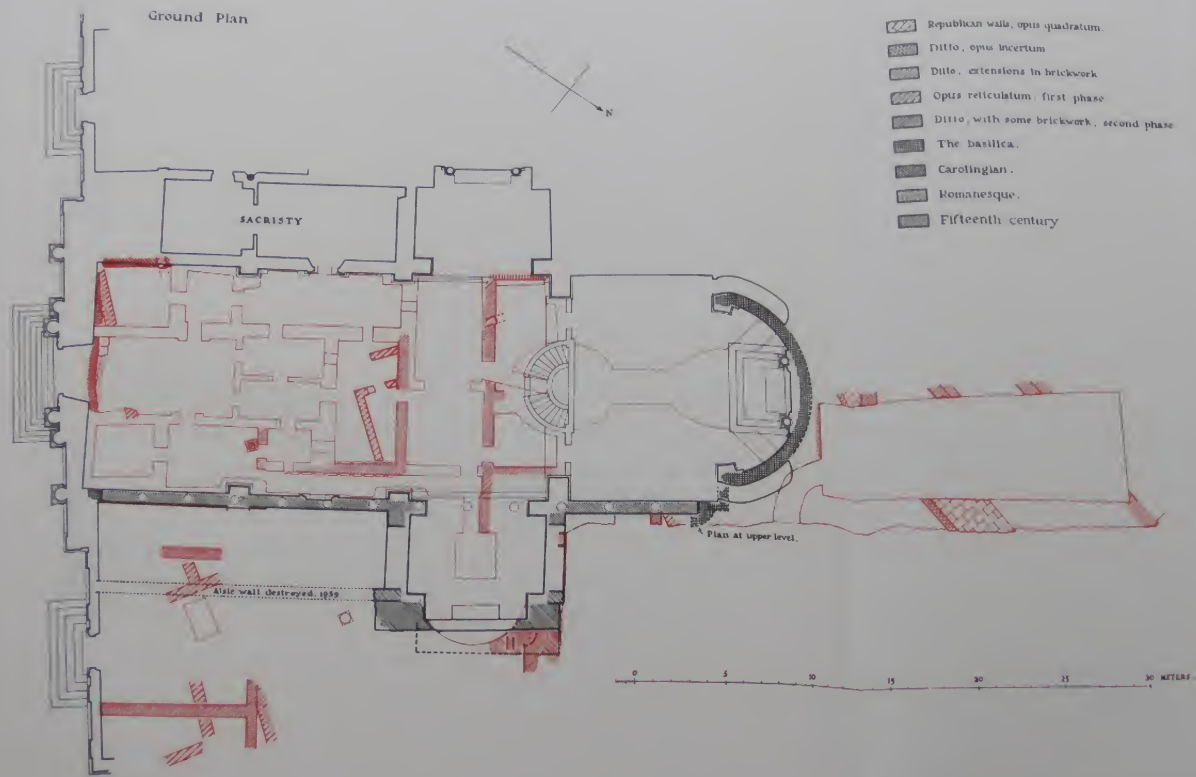
- Roman
- Fifth century
- Twelfth century
- Fifteenth century

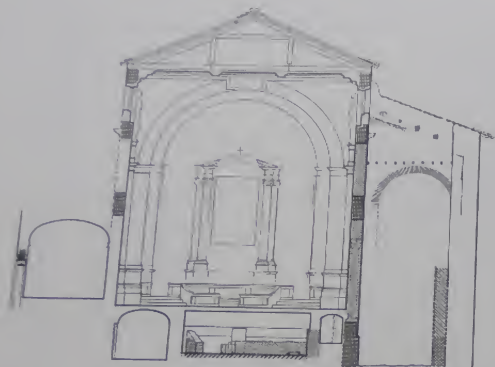
0 5 10 15 20 25 30 35 40 m



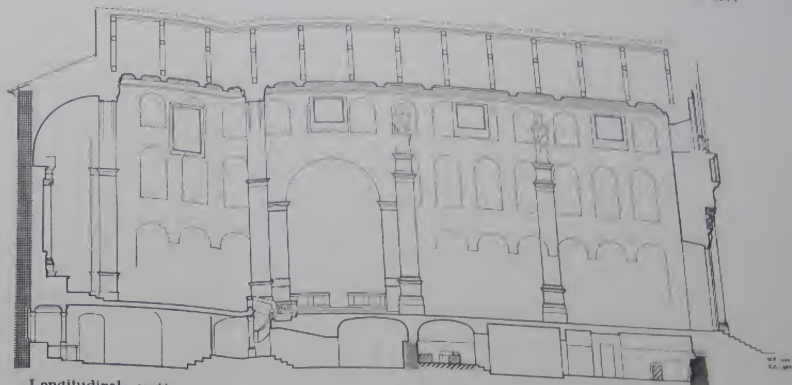


Survey and drawing, S. CORBETT





Transverse section



Longitudinal section








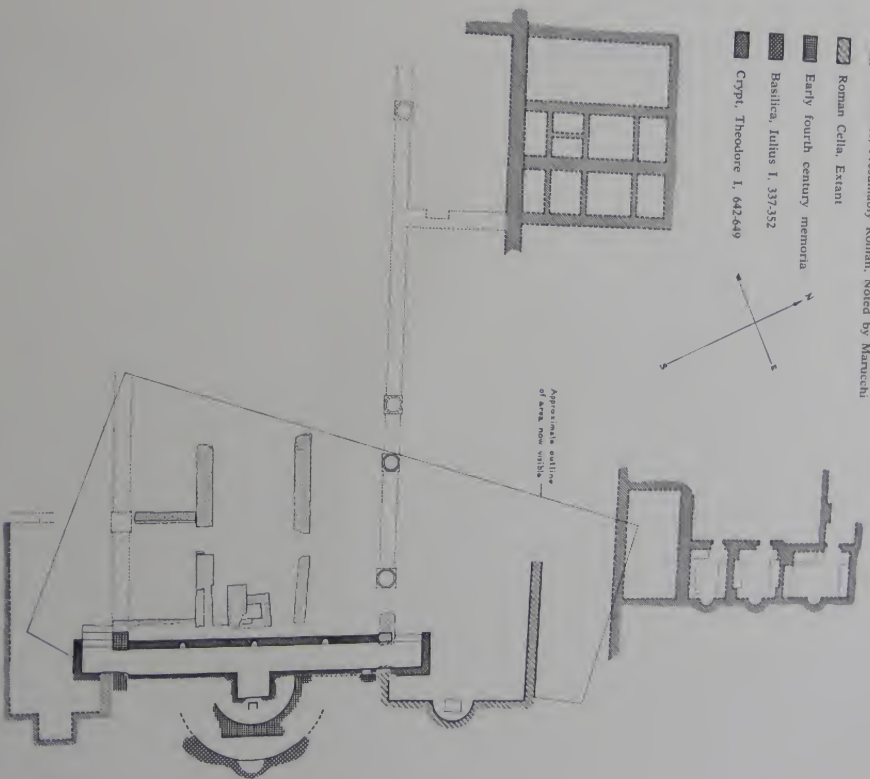
North wall, exterior.

Elevation.	Section.
	Republican wall
	Roman buildings, first phase
	Ditto, second phase.
	The basilica.
	Carolingian.
	Romanesque
	Fifteenth-century

0 5 10 15 20 Meters.



-  Structures, Presumably Roman, Noted by Marucchi
-  Roman Cella, Extant
-  Early fourth century memoria
-  Basilica, Iulius I, 357-352
-  Crypt, Theodore I, 642-649



S. VITALE



DMT FRONT



LONG SECTION X-Y



Plan	Section
	Floor (1000-1000)
	Brickwork (1000-1000)
	Masonry (1000-1000)
	Masonry (1000-1000)
	Masonry (1000-1000)
	Masonry (1000-1000)

